DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 404 604 CG 027 573

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TITLE A Study of the Effect of a Preventive, Psychoeducational, Counselor Intervention on the Ethnic Identity Development of Haitian Adolescents.
PUB DATE 94
NOTE 221p.; Ph.D. Dissertation, Barry University.
PUB TYPE Dissertations/Theses - Doctoral Dissertations (041)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC09 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescents; Counseling Objectives; *Cultural Awareness; *Ethnicity; Ethnic Status; Family Influence; *Haitians; Intervention; *Psychoeducational Methods; Secondary Education; Self Concept; Social Development
IDENTIFIERS *Cultural Adjustment

ABSTRACT

Adjusting to a new culture is a major transition that cuts across every aspect of an immigrant's life. This paper examines whether or not the use of a preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention affects the normative ethnic identity development process of Haitian adolescents. The study's independent variables were gender, dominant language spoken within the home, and the length of time in the United States. An outline of the problem is presented, along with a review of the pertinent literature and of Haitian history and culture. For the study, Haitian adolescents (N=105) were given a pretest and then assigned to either a placebo group, a control group, or an experimental group. The experimental group participated in a series of two-hour, weekly group sessions held over a period of seven weeks. All participants completed a post-test. The primary research hypothesis, which tested the effect of a preventive psychoeducational counseling intervention on ethnic identity development, resulted in no significant differences between control and experimental groups. There were no differences with respect to the length of time in the United States or the dominant language spoken in the home. There were significant differences found by gender but not between groups. Contains 257 references. (RJM)

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A Study of the Effect of a Preventive, Psychoeducational, Counselor Intervention on the Ethnic Identity Development of Haitian Adolescents

by Judith Barr Bachay, Ph.D.

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE EFFECT OF A PREVENTIVE, PSYCHOEDUCATIONAL, COUNSELOR INTERVENTION ON THE ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT OF HAITIAN ADOLESCENTS

Judith Barr Bachay, Ph.D.

Barry University, 1994

Dissertation Chairperson: Dr. Larry Burlew

Purpose. The purpose of this study was to empirically determine if application of a preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention affects the normative ethnic identity development process of Haitian adolescents across gender, dominant language spoken within the home, and the length of time the subjects have resided in the United States as measured by the MEIM (Phinney, 1992).

Methodology. The study was conducted in an urban Southeastern high school. A pretest-posttest control group design (Campbell & Stanley, 1963) was achieved through random assignment of 120 Haitian adolescents to one of three groups: (a) a placebo group (C1) that received counselor contact without a preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention but with pre-posttesting; (b) a control group that received pre-posttesting only and; (c) an experimental group that received a 7 week, 14 hour preventive psychoeducational counselor intervention.

Of the original 120 subjects selected, 105 had usable questionnaires and parental permission. Thus, 105 subjects between the ages of 14 and 20 were included in this study. The researcher administered the pretest MEIM and the Background Survey to the 105 subjects through a face to face data gathering procedure. Control and experimental groups were initiated upon completion of the pretest procedure. Posttesting of the MEIM was conducted after termination of the 7 week experimental group.

Major Findings. Data were analyzed through analysis of variance with repeated measures procedures.The primary research hypothesis that tested the effect of a preventive psychoeducational counseling intervention on ethnic identity development in this sample of Haitian adolescents ,resulted in no significant differences between control and experimental groups. There were no differences with respect to the length of time in the United States or the dominant language spoken in the home. There were significant differences found by gender but not between groups. Males scored significantly lower on the Meim than females.

Pearson Correlation Coefficients were used to analyze the relationship of the pre, post, and gain scores among the subscale components and the MEIM. The strongly related correlations among the subscale components and the MEIM provided further support for Phinney's (1992) conceptual notion that ethnic identity is comprised of three interrelated components within a unified construct.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is with deep gratitude that I thank my committee for mentoring and guiding me forward; for trusting in the process that demanded their precious time, formidable expertise, and patience. I thank Dr. Foote for daring me to believe that I could overcome my fear of the statistical beast. He gave me a priceless gift of self. I thank Dr. Burlew for his gentle leadership, direction, enduring patience. I thank Dr. Fisher for his enthusiastic support Dr. Renuart for his relentless and unceasing belief in the magic that can happen as a result of human caring.

I am grateful to my family. I pray that my children will forgive me and be enriched by the role model of a mother that pursues goals in the hope of contributing to a better world for all children.

I am grateful to my students who have informed me with their fear and pain, their strength, and resilience. It is my hope that this work will provide a voice for the collective stories that need to be heard.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to three people. For my mother who has a fire burning inside at all times; who lights the way with unconditional love and unarmed truth.

For my husband John, who I love with all my heart and soul.

For my friend Nejma, who taught me about the value of human caring that transcends racial, political, and spiritual oppression.

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CHAPTER I

The Problem

Adjusting to a new culture is a phenomenon replete with major transition issues that cut across every aspect of an immigrant's life. Spradley and Phillips (1972) found that skills vital to the successful adaptation to one culture often prove inadequate when a change in residence takes place from one sociological system to another. Haitian immigrants are not socialized to the behaviors of the dominant cultures of the United States, and, upon entering the culture of a foreign city, they may experience feelings of anxiety, confusion, fear, helplessness, and home-sickness (McPherson-Blake, 1991).

Haitian newcomers arrive in Miami by the hundreds every month. The needs of the children in this transition have been mitigated by public school system counselors and teachers armed with little or no knowledge of how to appropriately address the ethnic identity issues vital to the students' social and psychological development. Public schools are identified by researchers (e.g., Banks, 1992; Bhatnagar, 1985; Gay, 1992) as the primary agents of acculturation and linguistic assimilation yet, in reality, the experience of immigrant children, in particular the adolescent Haitian child, indicates the presence of multiple factors which instead counteract the children's successful acculturation.

Rejection of the middle school Haitian immigrant by both the United States government and its adult and adolescent citizens compels Haitian adolescents to consistently disown their heritage, including their native language, foods they prefer, and games and sports they enjoy, as well as religious and cultural expressions which could reveal evidence of their Haitian culture. In essence, these children are required to deny their individual and social identities in order to survive without the stigma of being labeled "voodoo cat eaters," or simply "stupid" or "dirty." In more than one middle school, the word Haitian is synonymous with the epithet "nigger." Any revelation of their heritage puts them at risk of being condemned as ignorant social pariahs.

In high schools, acts of discrimination directed toward the Haitian adolescent tend to be more covert than those in the middle schools. Further, Haitian students' high school experience is complicated by their growing awareness of the social and political milieu of which high school experiences are only a small part. Nightly news reports of overcrowded boats filled with desperate Haitians seeking freedom, but instead being repatriated, or drowning in the waves of the Atlantic, are followed by school days in which reading, writing, and arithmetic are sandwiched between discrimination and anguish.

Parents involved in promoting the return of democracy to Haiti have been shot in Miami's city streets, leaving fatherless children grieving in the public schools. Honor roll students mourn the loss of their dreams to become physicians, teachers, or engineers in order to work at subsistence-level jobs to help support their families and relatives left behind in Haiti.

This research is motivated by the author's daily experience with Haitian immigrant students and their families. It is based on a profound respect for the strength, courage, and community demonstrated by these newcomers. Haitian students have shared their fears, their pain, and their vision for an identity which embraces aspects of both the dominant and original cultures.

This study focused on how ethnic identity development is impacted, if at all, through the controlled experimental application of a three dimensional, preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention. Additionally, hypotheses were tested with respect to gender, dominant language spoken in the home, and length of time living in the United States; variables that may either be related to or may moderate the effects of the intervention. The impetus for the research was based on a recognition of the collective voice of the Haitian students who have consistently offered their trust, demonstrated their

United States; the traumatic effects are underscored by the recognition that "they leave behind a life that indelibly shapes them" (p. 5). The psychological effects of being uprooted are often invisible and go unrecognized in all but the most immediate newcomer.

If left unattended, immigrant children may experience depression, impaired memory, disorientation and confusion, family conflict, and a host of other mental health problems that impede healthy functioning. The barriers to support systems are overwhelming. Ivey (1993) criticizes contemporary psychotherapy and counseling practice as having "failed to encounter the reality of a multicultural world" (p. 225). Leading counseling researchers (e.g., Atkinson, Jennings, & Liongson, 1990; Helms, 1984, 1992; Gibbs & Huang, 1989; Pedersen, 1978; Sue, 1992) concur that the disregard or minimization of the influence of cultural factors on the counseling process has contributed to both embarrassingly dismal utilization rates and low outcomes for minorities.

Casas (1984) explained this neglect by suggesting that: (a) an irresponsible lack of interest has been demonstrated by the dominant culture; (b) continued racism, prejudice, and bias exists towards minorities; (c) an ethnocentric perspective is held by the dominant culture; and (d) counselors prefer to work with clients similar to their racial/ethnic status. These perspectives may account for

Ponterotto and Casas' (1991) inability to locate multicultural counseling studies which focused on the strengths of minority cultures, inquiry related to the effect of the acculturation process on mental health, or examination of the needs of immigrant youth.

Sue, Akutsu, and Higashi (1985) contended that minority issues can no longer be viewed as irrelevant to the concerns of the nation. Counseling interventions that reflect a thorough understanding of an immigrant's cognitive map and lifestyle prevent what Carter (1991) termed the "mismatches of cultural values which affect the delivery of mental health and educational services, their communication process and their interactional dynamics" (p. 185).

Culture

Pedersen defined culture with two primary descriptive features: (a) complexity, or the myriad of culturally learned identities and affiliations that an individual adopts at any given moment and (b) dynamism, or the salient changes that occur when one identity or affiliation is replaced with another (P. Pedersen, personal communication, March 11, 1994). Pedersen (1990) delineated a categorical set of variables that encompassed a broad definition of culture. These groupings include: ethnographic (e.g., ethnicity, nationality, religion, and language), demographic (e.g., age, gender, place of residence), status (e.g., social, economic, educational) and affiliations (e.g., all

formal and informal memberships). Recognition of these groupings provides a "metaphor to better understand the different perspectives within each of us as our different social roles compete, complement and cooperate with one another" (p. 95).

The Haitian Immigrant

A complex and dynamic web of psychosocial, historical, and political influences provides the context for interpreting the meaning of identity development for Haitian adolescents who migrate to the United States. A systemic focus is an imperative for understanding important questions about ethnicity because human development occurs within a complex web of influential factors. Anthropologists Fjellman and Gladwin (1985) conducted an ethnographic study of the effect of migration patterns on Haitian families. They concluded that the most critical factors impacting Haitian immigrants are the political and economic systems that control migration.

Although anthropologists Laguerre (1984) and Stepick (1984b) have described the Haitian immigrants' experience in New York and Miami, respectively, Giles' (1990) investigation found little in the counseling literature to assist counselors in understanding and in enhancing their ability to provide culturally competent services for Haitians. Grenier and Stepick (1992) titled the fourth chapter in their seminal analysis of immigration trends in

courage, and maintained hope and dignity in the face of seemingly insurmountable challenges.

Background Research

America's demographics are changing radically: one-third of the total population growth in the 1980s is attributable to immigrants who come to this country in search of political asylum, economic opportunity, and family reunion (Dunlap, 1993). Recent immigration trends illustrate that America is rapidly becoming a "multicultural, multiracial, and multilingual society" (Sue, 1991, p. vii). "Minority majorities" comprise the 25 largest urban school systems (Ponterotto & Casas, 1991). Racial/ethnic minorities are becoming an increasingly significant proportion of the total United States population and future projections indicate that the White population will grow minimally while Hispanic and Black growth will accelerate (Hodgkinson, 1985).

Pallas, Natriello, and McDill's (1989) analysis of the current and projected sociodemographic changes illustrates the sharp increase schools can anticipate in children with a primary language other than English. From an estimate of two million in 1982, the numbers are projected to triple by the year 2020 when an estimated six million students will not speak English as a first language.

Carrera (1989) asserted that war, political oppression, economic desperation, and hope propel immigrants to the

Miami: "The Refugees Nobody Wants: Haitians in Miami." Stepick (1992) asserts that recent Haitian immigrants in Miami (i.e., the Black boat people) undoubtedly number among America's most suffering contemporary immigrant communities. Clearly, much research yet needs to be done to provide counselors with the knowledge and tools needed to effectively meet the needs of the Haitian immigrant.

Duhart and Donnelly (1993) report an Immigration and Naturalization estimate that at least 150,000 Haitians are currently residing in South Florida. The subsequent effects on the public school system have been substantial and include those listed below (Staff, 1992).

1. Teachers and administrators struggle to meet the diverse needs of thousands of newly-arrived, foreign-born children who join growing numbers of United States born children of color in public school.

2. Immigrant parents struggle to understand a new culture and language while trying to negotiate an unfamiliar system of public education.

3. Caught in the middle, immigrant children function as language and culture brokers for their parents.

4. Seeking to build social relations with United States born children and young immigrants from other lands, immigrant children also fight against odds to succeed in school. Research that is focused on these populations is vital to the efforts of educators, counselors,

psychologists, and others who are concerned with identifying and ameliorating the difficulties faced by immigrant children.

In citing the cultural work of other researchers (e.g., Esquivel & Keitel, 1990; Gibbs & Huang, 1989; Ho, 1987; McGoldrick, Pearce, & Giordano 1982), Ponterotto and Casas (1991) contended that research is needed examining racial/minority youth and the acquisition of a healthy bicultural identity. Padilla (1980) defined this form of acculturation through his Biculturality Identity Model in which an individual maintains a dual identity: one identification with the culture of origin and one with the new culture. This process may take approximately three to four years.

Theoretical Framework

Specifically, the first theory that provides the foundation for this study concerns identity development. The developmental function of general identity formation provides a conceptual basis from which to understand minority ethnic identity development. The conceptual framework for this study is based on the identity development work of two theorists, Erik Erikson and James Marcia. Identity development is defined as "self-structure --an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history" (Marcia, 1980, p. 159). Waterman (1985) contends that the tasks of

identity formation include "those areas in a person's life in which important decisions must be made and which therefore are likely to be a major focus of attention" (p. 7).

Erikson (1968) provided a theory of ego identity formation that was extended by the stage model defined by Marcia (1980). Erikson pointed to adolescence as a time of exploration and experimentation in areas such as religious ideology, political orientation, and occupational identity. The process of exploration is followed by decisions and commitments about what to believe or what to become.

Marcia (1980) outlined four distinct identity statuses that are intrinsic to the formulation of an adult identity. This paradigm suggests that an achieved identity is the result of an identity crisis which involves a period of search or exploration leading to commitment or resolution.

The second theory undergirding the overall theoretical framework for the study concerns ethnic identity development. Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) contend that ethnic identity development is as fundamental to the establishment of a healthy self-concept and positive intercultural attitudes as the more researched areas of identity such as occupational, political and search, and commitment towards religious ideology (p. 41). Helms (1990) defined this process as:

> A sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common ethnic heritage with a particular ethnic group . . . ethnic identity development theory concerns the psychological implications of ethnic group membership, that is belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership. (p. 3)

Ethnic specific models of identity development have been applied to African-Americans (Cross, 1978, 1991), Asian-Americans (Kim, 1981), and Mexican-Americans (Arce, 1981). In a review of 70 ethnic identity studies published in refereed journals after 1972, Phinney (1990) concluded that ethnic identity is central to the psychological functioning of members of ethnic and racial minority groups.

The theoretical model applied in this study is the Phinney model of adolescent ethnic identity development. Phinney et al. (1990) extended the identity development work of Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1980) to create an ethnic identity model applicable to minority adolescents. Phinney's model has three stages with an optimum outcome of identity achievement, a positive sense of oneself as a minority group member.

Ethnic Identity

Color and Ethnic Identity

In an effort to integrate theories of ethnic identity development to better understand the needs of gifted Black

students, Ford, Harris, and Schuerger (1993) found that ethnic identity development is much more difficult for Black students than Whites. The chronic stress experienced by American Blacks makes color a more salient issue because of the barriers that exist for Blacks on the basis of skin color (Taylor, 1991). This finding is particularly relevant to the plight of the recently arrived Haitian adolescent immigrant. In discussing the story of Miami's demographic transformation, Portes and Stepick (1993) observed that "Haitians did not wish to be identified with what they saw as the poorest and most downtrodden group in the host society. Each group feared and resisted the prospect of triple subordination: the double hegemony of Anglos and Latins plus the ascent of another Black-skinned group" (p. 190).

Self-Esteem and Ethnic Identity

The literature concerning the psychological health of Black adolescents shows consistent findings specifically related to self-esteem, which is one aspect of psychological health. Research linking self-esteem to components of ethnic identity suggest that a strong ethnic identity, along with a positive relationship with the dominant culture, is related to high self-esteem (Helms, 1984). Research supports the tenet that Black youth have consistently had positive self-esteem, (Barnes, 1980; Cross, 1985; Gibbs, 1988). Despite these research conclusions, Phinney et al.

(1990) asserted that minority adolescents are at great risk for the development of poor self-images manifested through feelings of alienation and other psychological barriers to healthy identity.

A lack of available research regarding self-esteem in Haitian adolescents (Giles, 1990) provides no empirical basis from which to draw a conclusion. Social psychologists agree that disparaged minority group members may internalize the dominant culture's negative views, thus creating great risk for psychological conflict (Lefley, 1981; Tajfel, 1978). Stepick and Portes (1986) note that mainstream Miami culture is extremely rejecting of the Haitian immigrant. Consequently, resolution of normal developmental processes may be illusive for many Haitian adolescents. It is the experience of this researcher that the sociopolitical neglect and discrimination that has affected governmental policy and tainted Americans' view of Haitians has resulted in tremendous risk to the developing social and personal identity of the Haitian adolescent. Thus, counselors need empirically based tools with which to help Haitian adolescents work through the normal social and identity developmental processes of adolescence.

Gender and Ethnic Identity Development

Gender, as an aspect of identity development, has received increasing attention. In citing research related to gender and general identity development, Streitmatter

(1993) asserts that there was no evidence of differences related to gender in such variables as timing of psychosocial development or the process by which identity formation occurs in Erikson's model. However, Streitmatter (1993) suggests that Erikson's model of the eight stages of man is biased and based on a male construction of reality, thus excluding the developmental processes of females. She further states that a feminist definition which includes the importance of building and maintaining relationships is essential to an understanding of gender and identity development.

Understanding how gender differences impact the ethnic identification process is an unknown variable for those practitioners working with Haitian adolescents. In discussing ethnic identification and feminism, Walker (1991) suggested that the literature related to the influences of ethnic identity development on social and psychological functioning is compatible with the literature related to gender differences in psychosocial development. Gibson's (1991) exploration of ethnicity, gender, and social class in the school adaptation patterns of West Indian youth supported Sleeter and Grant's (1988) call for an integrative investigation as it applies to educational opportunity for immigrant and minority youth. The exploration of differences in ethnic identity development with respect to gender appears to be a salient issue for empirical inquiry.

Language and Ethnic Identity Development

In his review of the literature from the disciplines of anthropology, law, economics, and policy analysis, Lawless (1986) identified language as another variable essential to the ethnic identity of the Haitian immigrant.

Language is defined by Walsh (1987) as a sociocultural phenomenon. It involves the development of speech along with the ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that are culturally embedded and socially determined (p. 197). Because language serves as a transmitter of familial and cultural values, it is through language that individuals give voice to their cultural frames of reference (Halliday, cited in Walsh, 1987). Language acquisition is comprised of the ongoing construction of children's self-perceptions, their understanding of their environment, and their conceptions of themselves in relation to their environmental systems (Spener, 1988).

Instruction of English as a second language to children in the public schools who have limited English proficiency has been criticized by researchers as inadequate, contrived and not bilingually based (Bennett & Pedraza, 1984; Bisseret 1979). Bilingual programs provide for support in the native language initially, but advocate for English learning and interpretation at the expense of other cultural belief systems.

Adolescents who migrated to the United States after the age of eleven have been identified as a portion of the immigrant population particularly vulnerable to stress because their adjustment is complicated by the developmental process of identity formation. If the dominant culture discriminates and adolescents are shamed by their primary language, the resultant denial obstructs the normal resolution of Erikson's (1968) identity crisis. Sociocultural and historic alliances with the speech community of which they are a part are broken.

Acculturation and Ethnic Identity Development

Acculturation is defined by Mena, Padilla, and Maldonado (1987) as an adaptive process of cultural adjustment that begins as a result of contact between two or more autonomous cultural groups. It is a phenomenon that is highly complex with moderating variables for acculturation options depending upon age, income, years of residence in the United States, country of birth, religion, and purposes of immigration (Sodowsky, Lai, & Plake, 1991).

Acculturation refers to the changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviors that result from contact between two distinct cultures. Aronowitz' (1984) literature review regarding the acculturation process suggested that the effects of the trauma of immigration are reflected in school settings through behavioral disorders and identity conflicts. This is congruent with the experience of Miami

counselors who report that Haitian students are seeking counseling for depression and anxiety disorders (R. Ryan, personal communication, November 19, 1992) as they attempt to cope with the common stresses of adolescent development, complicated by family conflict as well as rejection by the dominant cultures.

Padilla (1993) and other researchers (e.g., Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable, 1987) contend that the developmental identity crisis extends to ethnic identity conflict in which an adolescent experiences demarcated values. Immigrant children may assume one ethnic orientation at home and a totally different one at school. Parents may expect loyalty to the culture of origin. Padilla (1993) maintains that a dilemma faced by immigrant adolescents is the question of whether "being a good ethnic means being a bad American." Ethnic confusion is created when immigrant adolescents are considered by the dominant culture to be part of a low socioeconomic status. Skin color, language, religion, and other dissimilarities complicate the Haitian adolescents' acculturative experiences.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this intracultural-focused experimental study is to determine the extent to which a preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention affects the ethnic identity achievement of Haitian adolescents as

measured by the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992). Open-ended questions posed through individual interviews with Haitian adolescent high school students will provide counselors with information regarding the students' perspectives of their ethnic identity in relation to self, peer group, family, and the larger society.

The Research Questions

The following are the principal research questions that will guide this study:

1. To what extent can a preventive psychoeducational counseling intervention affect ethnic identity development?

2. What are the differences in effect with respect to gender, years in host country, and dominant language spoken within the home?

3. To what extent do the MEIM subgroups (affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors) contribute to ethnic identity development?

Research Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses based on the above research questions will be investigated.

1. There will be no significant differences in the pretest and posttest ethnic identity development gain scores as measured by the MEIM, between those students in the treatment, placebo, and control groups.

2. There will be no significant differences over time on the MEIM with respect to gender and across groups.

3. There will be no significant relationship among subjects' scores on the MEIM with regard to the length of time they have lived in the United States.

4. There will be no difference between subjects' scores on the MEIM regardless of the dominant language spoken in the home or treatment condition.

5. There will be no significant differences over time across treatment groups on the subscale components of the MEIM (Affirmation and Belonging, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Behaviors).

Definition of the Terms

Psychoeducational. The model applied in this study refers to the psychoeducational model developed by Guerney, Stollak, and Guerney (1971) that defines the therapeutic role of the counselor as that of educator whose main concern is to teach content related to interpersonal skills that the individual can apply to solve present or future problems. The psychoeducational model is in direct contrast with the role of the psychological practitioner who is concerned with abnormality, illness, diagnosis, prescriptions, and cures (Ivey, Ivey, & Simek-Downing, 1987).

Preventive Counseling Intervention. The term in this study that refers to those primary prevention strategies applied in the seven session treatment intervention.

Primary prevention is defined by Coyne (1987) as those strategies that target groups of unaffected people for purposes of helping them to continue functioning in healthy ways. Preventive counseling is directed at enhancing normative developmental processes.

Ethnic Identity Achievement. Phinney (1989) defines ethnic identity achievement as acceptance and internalization of one's ethnic identity which is characterized by a sense of group inclusion predicated upon exploration and resolution.

Gender. The term gender refers to either male or female subjects within the sample population (Nielsen, 1987).

Host Country. The host country referred to in this study is the United States of America.

Dominant Language. The dominant language is defined as a background variable on the demographic questionnaire and describes the primary language spoken in the research subjects' home.

Ethnic Identity. For the purposes of this study, ethnic identity is the aspect of social identity defined by Tajfel (1981) that concerns that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his or her knowledge of the individual's membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (p. 255).

Affirmation and Belonging. A sense of affirmation and belonging are key ingredients to acquisition of a healthy ethnic achievement. Phinney (1992) defines this subscale on the MEIM as a measurement of ethnic pride and feeling of belonging and attachment to one's ethnic group.

Ethnic Attitudes. Ethnic attitudes represents that subscale of the MEIM that assesses attitudes toward ethnic groups other than one's own. Recognizing that ethnic attitudes are not a function of ethnic identity, Phinney (1992) contends that ethnic attitudes affect one's social interaction in the larger society. Therefore, assessment of attitudes and interactions with ethnic groups other than one's own is included as a subscale.

Ethnic Behaviors. Those items on the MEIM that represent same group cultural practices include two definitive aspects which are included in this measurement subscale (Phinney, 1992). They are the general involvement in social activities and participation in the cultural traditions practiced by one's cultural group.

Significance of the Study

Despite the fact that Haitian immigrants comprise one of the current top 10 immigrant populations to arrive in the United States (Gonzales, 1990), there is a paucity of counseling literature that would guide educators and practitioners in mitigating factors that affect the normal,

healthy developmental processes that are critical to psychological development.

Adolescence is defined by dramatic and rapid change (Adelson, 1980). Ethnic identity formation is recognized as an important function of identity formation (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980). Further, researchers agree that minority adolescents are at especially high risk for identity disorders (Phinney & Rotherham, 1987). Theoretical testimony has not been followed by empirical inquiry.

Although Haitian adolescents are at great risk, preventive and ameliorative counseling interventions have been recommended but never systematically and methodologically tested (Giles, 1990). Demographic trends underscore the need for this next step, a study in the extent to which a preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention affects the ethnic identity development of Haitian adolescents.

Assumptions

The basic assumptions of the study are:

1. The subjects in the study will be candid in their responses on the MEIM and the Background Survey questionnaire because of their assurances of confidentiality and anonymity.

2. The Haitian students are truly representative of any group of Haitian adolescents entering the Southeastern United States.

3. All trainers are equally skilled at conducting the preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention.

Limitations and Delimitations

The subjects of the study are Haitian adolescents between the ages of 14 to 20, attending a large, urban high school, and residing in a large southeastern city in the United States. The results of the study may be generalizable only to similar populations.

The scope of the study is restricted to that aspect of identity formation concerning ethnic identity factors across gender, time in the host country, and with respect to the dominant language spoken in the home. Other variables may be discussed in the literature review but are not investigated in this study.

Interactional effects of subscale components, (affirmation and belonging, ethnic attitudes, and behaviors) are explored in terms of intra-group differences and should not be used as a basis of comparison to other groups.

Organization of the Study

Chapter One

The first chapter is comprised of an introduction to the research problem. Its subsections include: the background of the problem, problem statement, the purpose of the study, definition of the terms, research questions, research hypotheses, assumptions, limitations and delimitations, and an organization of the study.

Chapter Two

A review of the literature comprises the second chapter. It enhances an understanding of substantive areas of the current body of research relevant to the problem. Its subsections include: examination of historical and sociocultural factors affecting Haiti, immigration trends, acculturation processes, a discussion of identity development, followed by an analysis of ethnic identity development theory, and the role of multicultural counseling in a changing world.

Chapter Three

The third chapter describes the research design, the methodology and the procedures that were used in the research study. Its subsections include: a description of the population and the sample, a review of selected instrumentation, the procedures for data collection, and analysis.

Chapter Four

The fourth chapter reports the statistical findings derived from the raw data collected. This includes both hypothesized and non-statistical findings.

Chapter Five

The fifth chapter describes the conclusions, recommendations, and a summary. Subsections include: conclusions from quantitative findings; conclusions from additional findings; a theoretical discussion and possible

implications for counselor education, practice, and research.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

Rapidly changing demographics in the United States underscore the need for counselor focus on the myriad variables that influence the way individuals and groups construct meaning about themselves and their respective worlds. Economic, sociopolitical, and historical factors influence an individual's place of residence, career, social status, and level of educational achievement (Richardson & Bender, 1987). The personal measure from which one constructs an understanding of self in relation to the world constitutes a world view. The personal measure from which one constructs an understanding of self in relation to the world constitutes the notion of identity. Understanding the world view of others is essential to positive intergroup relations. It is predicated upon a reflective consciousness that is grounded in a strong sense of self or personal identity.

The development of identity is acknowledged as a major task of that special period of human development known as adolescence (Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1982). Identity is defined as the acquisition of life roles, values, personality traits, and ego states (Gilligan, 1982). Intrinsic to the acquisition of identity is a conscious search to find an answer to the question, "Who am I ?"

McFadden (1988) suggested that all persons must find meaning for themselves. The centrality of this search was emphasized by Vontress (1988) who stated that "self knowledge is perhaps the most important predictor of effective living because without it individuals have no clear directions in life and they are unable to make meaningful decisions" (p. 77).

Adolescence is also a time when an individual faces the issue of group belonging (Muuss, 1988). Opportunities are provided for increasing social experience by attending middle and high school. The values and mores expressed by the dominant group are often in conflict with those espoused by minority and immigrant groups. That aspect of one's identity that is derived from membership in a social group or groups combined with the emotional significance of that membership is what Tajfel (1981) defined as one's ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is essential to human development and is especially important for minority adolescents who are confronted with stereotyping, racism, and discrimination based on ethnic group membership.

This research explored the question of whether a preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention had an impact on the ethnic identity development of Haitian adolescents. The developmental constructs proposed by Erikson (1964) and operationalized by Marcia (1980) affirm that the fundamental task of all adolescents is one of

identity formation. The ethnic identity development process is one prism of the total spectrum of the evolving human being, an aspect for Haitian immigrants that has been ignored by counseling research. Despite the influx of Haitians in the Miami, Florida area, a gaping void exists in the literature. Counseling practitioners and educators may recognize the need for intervention, but lack the knowledge and awareness to know when and how to provide supportive services that would enhance ethnic identity development within the context of a preventive counseling approach. Although Haitians represent one of the top ten immigrant populations in the United States, little research exists regarding the development of Haitian adolescents. However, the development of Haitian adolescents is complicated by critical sociopolitical and psychosocial factors that are potential sources of stress.

The relatively new psychological domain of ethnic identity development is examined from an intracultural perspective and critical questions are posed in this study. Can a preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention demonstratively enhance ethnic identity development in Haitian adolescents? Questions regarding the relationship of the dominant language spoken at home to the ethnic identity development of a Haitian adolescent will help counselors acquire knowledge about the impact of this variable on the adolescent's growth and development. Gender

differences within this group were explored without comparison to other cultures with dissimilar values, language, and other definitive characteristics. The relationship of the length of time the adolescent has been in the United States and its effect on ethnic identity development was another important question posited in this research. Although recommended, ameliorative counselor interventions that would enhance ethnic identity development in Haitian adolescents have not been implemented and examined empirically.

Organization of the Chapter

This chapter provides a comprehensive review of the literature. It is introduced by a discussion regarding adolescence and then begins with an examination of the theoretical conceptual framework intrinsic to this research, which is followed by a description of the ethnic identity model applied. The history of Haiti, including relevant cultural factors and a current account of Haitian education, follows a subsection concerning immigration history, policy, impact, and trends. Current perspectives regarding the acculturation process include background research of variables which will be tested empirically. This section precedes an overview of the psychoeducational, preventive, counseling intervention. The role of multicultural counseling completes the substantive construction of Chapter Two.

Adolescent Development

Current perspectives regarding the evolving view of the concept of adolescence, or that period of time generally regarded as the ages between 12 and 20, are rooted in both historical and sociological phenomenon. Formal education in the 1700s was offered almost exclusively to males from upper-class families. As formal education was not compulsory, children did not formulate groups that would segregate them according to age. Young people in America grew up in predominately agricultural societies. They worked along with their parents and siblings, thus passing through the transition to adulthood relatively slowly and quietly. Even the biological change known as pubescence occurred later than as usual today (Kett, 1977).

The advent of compulsory education and industrialization resulted in the dramatic increase of school enrollment. Technology called for more formal education and industrialization provided work for young laborers. Adolescents were the subject of child labor laws. The decrease in agrarian labor value on the family farm combined with the increase in demand for technological jobs led to the gradual grouping of large numbers of the young in schools.

Other factors contributing to the gradual contemporary redefinition of adolescence were the large numbers of schools and ever growing student population. Demographic

change during the 1960s in particular contributed to the current notion of adolescence as a developmental stage characterized by dramatic and extensive social, emotional, and physical changes. During this time the adolescent population grew dramatically in proportion to the adult population calling attention to the issues, problems, and needs of this age group. The contemporary concept of adolescence is relatively new and knowledge about adolescence has been guided by conflicting theory rather than empirical description (Nielsen, 1987).

The understanding of adolescent development has been influenced by diverse theoretical assumptions. The primary schools of thought can be categorized as biological, psychoanalytic, cognitive-developmental, sociological anthropological, social learning-behavioral, and ecological. These perspectives differ in the extent to which the environmental, biological, cognitive, or psychological variables contribute to adolescent goals, tasks, attitudes, and behaviors. A typology of general theoretical perspectives are delineated in Table 1. Each of these perspectives contributes to the evolving conception of adolescence.

As illustrated in Table 1, the various theories help to explain the complex arena of adolescent development. For example, Piaget (Muuss, 1988) contributed to the understanding of the increased complexity of cognitive

Table 1

Typology of Adolescent Theory

Perspective	General Constructs	Notable Theorists
Developmental	Behavior is motivated by unconscious dynamics and human growth occurs through distinct stages predicated on psychological development.	Sigmund Freud Karen Horney Erik Erikson Peter Blos James Marcia
Cognitive-Developmental	Cognitive development schemata of progressive stage development conceptually includes development of morality. Feminist conceptions of female development complements these constructs.	Jean Piaget Lawrence Kohlberg David Elkind Carol Gilligan
Sociological - Anthropological	Social milieu is strongly correlated to an adolescent's experiences and behavior. External social forces are the dominant influences on behavior.	Ruth Benedict Margaret Mead August Hollingshead Robert Havighurst
Social Learning-Behavioral	Behavioristic constructs are applied to social and developmental problems. Environmental, situational, and other factors in the socialization process are responsible for learning and development.	B.F. Skinner Albert Bandura John Dollard Julian Rotter

abilities that occurs when a child approaches adolescence. The process by which adolescents acquire the ability to critically reflect about their own thinking was labeled second degree thinking by Piaget. This concept is the equivalent of what is currently referred to as metacognition. Such formal cognitive operations are important to identity formation which requires an ability to reason in the abstract.

Kohlberg (1972, 1975) analyzed the relationship between stages of moral development and Piaget's stages of cognitive development. The cognitive shifts that occur from childhood to adolescence are accompanied by a developmental progression of moral judgment that parallel those stages defined by Piaget. The stages by which an adolescent develops a moral philosophy, as defined by Kohlberg, has been related to Marcia's stages of ego identity (see Table 1). The relationship of moral reasoning to ethnic identity development has not been explored, but moral principles have been shown to be relevant to identity formation (Podd, 1972). During adolescence, there is often development that signifies increasing levels of psychological maturation which is important to the acquisition of ethnic identity development.

Theoretical Framework

The developmental issues of adolescence are particularly relevant to the immigrant child who contends

with psychosocial stressors that further complicate the complex process of growing up (Cardenas, Taylor, & Adelman, 1993; Eisenbruch, 1988; Stephen, Eisenbruch, Lockwood, & Smaol, 1985). In discussing psychosocial identity, Erikson (1975) explainnd that the ego does not develop as an island unto itself; its development is dependent upon three factors. He identified these factors as "the personal coherence of the individual and role integration in his group; his guiding images and the ideologies of his time; his life history- and the historical moment" (p. 20). Erikson's respect for context, in addition to his advocation of epigenic change that is universal and transcends all cultures, speaks to the increasing complexity of a diverse world.

Therefore, the theoretical undergirding of this research is provided by (a) the conceptual ideology of Erik H. Erikson, who has designated identity formation as a central developmental task of adolescence; and (b) Marcia's (1980) identity status paradigm which operationalizes Erikson's (1963a) theory of ego identity formation and presents a four stage model based on whether individuals have explored identity alternatives and whether they have made a decision.

The final theory guiding this study is the ethnic identity model proposed by Phinney (1989, 1990). Phinney's model links the general models of identity development to

the specific component of identity formation known as ethnic identity development. The design of this study suggests that the public school as a natural arena for counselor interventions designed to enhance ethnic identity development.

Role of School

A panoramic view of our increasingly diverse society can be captured through the public school system. School-based programs have the potential to resonate with collective efforts that instill values of equality, nurture the appreciation for diversity, and enhance psychosocial development. Schools have initiated innovations to address the needs of newcomers through staff development related to ethnic issues, curricula, and teaching strategies that infuse students' life experiences, language and traditions, and transitional support groups for new immigrants.

The National Council of Advocates for Students (1994) identified innovative public school practices that endeavor to improve relations between immigrant and United States born students and have made a positive impact on their respective public schools. Ethnographers illustrated programs that were considered to be reproducible and sustainable, nonexclusionary, and representative of school-wide investment. Examples of these programs include the intracultural support groups facilitated by the guidance counselors at South Division High School in Milwaukee,

Wisconsin. These groups explored ethnic identity issues in separate groups for African-American males, African-American females, Latino males, and Latino females. Seward Park High School in New York City developed a program to foster leadership skills and respect for diversity. They recruited indigenous immigrant students and cultivated a large Multicultural Club that sponsors such activities as international food fairs, art shows, and music festivals. Fellowship Farm is a center that has designed human relations programs for 26 Philadelphia schools. These programs are composed of workshops designed to increase awareness, self-esteem and ethnic pride, and respect for self and others.

The needs of the Haitian newcomers are beginning to be acknowledged through the implementation of school-based groups and clubs that address acculturation issues. School-based culture clubs tell the story of Haiti and engender ethnic pride. Generally, however, the complex needs of the Haitian adolescent, which are exacerbated by immigrant status, go largely unheeded. Agency and community-based efforts have not resulted in culturally conversant services for this group in particular (Giles, 1991).

Identity Development

Erikson's Developmental Model

Erikson's theory is predicated on the belief that individuals progress through stages in which specific areas

of conflict are resolved. Like Freud, Erikson's work is based on a stage model, but development occurs over a life span rather than the Freudian emphasis on early childhood experience. Erikson's eight psychosocial stages of development modified Freudian theory of psychosexual development by introducing the influence of social forces. His basic philosophy was revealed when he wrote that one cannot separate "the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crisis in historical development because the two help to define each other and are truly relative to each other" (Erikson, 1968, p. 92).

A central theme is the acquisition of an ego identity and the identity process is the core characteristic of adolescence. Although the specific features of identity may vary according to culture, the accomplishment of identity formation transcends cultural definitions (Muuss, 1988).

Each of Erikson's psychosocial stages entail a life crises that requires a decisive response, thus providing an opportunity for increased ego strength. The stages occur in sequential order and each crisis or conflict is never fully resolved, but appears to be more pronounced at the particular age with which it is associated. Resolution is never static and although identity formation is more pronounced during adolescence, a redefinition of one's sense of self can be motivated by any significant life change. Coping skills required to deal with identity issues that

arise because of life role changes may be dependent upon the degree to which the adolescent identity crisis was mastered (Erikson, 1968).

Erikson (1963a) described the comprehensive stage model that incorporates regard for the social influences on development. He identified a basic virtue, or universal value, that was associated with each stage, and significant in terms of its capacity for re-emergence from generation to generation. The psychosocial stages and their associated transcendent virtues are: basic trust vs. mistrust; hope, autonomy vs. shame and doubt; willpower, initiative vs. guilt; purpose, industry vs. inferiority; competence, identity vs. role confusion; fidelity, intimacy vs. isolation; love, generativity vs. stagnation; care, and ego integrity vs. despair (p. 174).

Erikson (1968) argues that the development of an autonomous personality in adolescence occurs within a societal context of conflicting ideologies and cultural diversity. The enduring human values espoused in this theory extend the psychosexual stage model to incorporate a more culturally relevant and rich description of human development.

Although this study is primarily concerned with that stage that focuses on identity formation in adolescence (identity vs. role confusion), the stages that precede adolescence are essential in this developmentally-based

theory. Increasing levels of maturation and psychosocial differentiation are predicated upon the child's first major task, which is to learn to trust other people and develop a sense of security. After children feel secure enough to explore the unfamiliar, they are prepared to achieve a sense of autonomy and self-control which furthers their ability to become independent. Erikson's next stage parallels Freud's oedipal stage. During the "initiative versus guilt" stage children must overcome their rivalry for their mother's attention by initiating and establishing peer relationships. Children must deal with the shame or guilt that they may experience because of inadequate or frustrating feelings that may occur by virtue of their new peer relationships. The influence of environment is reflected by the next stage that directly precedes adolescence.

The onset of school requires increasing levels of peer interaction and the stage of "industry versus inferiority" addresses the issues most relevant for those children between the ages of 6 and 12. Peer status and the acquisition of new skills are required to help diminish feelings of inadequacy. This stage also presumes a measure of introspection and acknowledgment of realistic limitations. Although these stages are completed before adolescence, Erikson holds that these stages may have a powerful influence on adolescence. For example, if a child does not acquire a feeling of competence and success, there

will be a feeling of uselessness and work paralysis culminating in a sense of futility which could contribute to ego diffusion in adolescence (Erikson, 1968, p. 180).

The principal task of adolescence is that of identity formation. It is a process that must be confronted on an individual basis and involves the establishment of a meaningful self-concept: a personal identity concerning self in relation to the past, present, and future. Two dynamics implicit in this process are: (a) the conscious search for an identity which has replaced the socialization process because of the increasing absence of socially defined roles that adolescents can be nurtured into, and (b) a conscious commitment to a system of values, beliefs, and decisions regarding self in relation to peer group, vocation, religion, sexuality, etc.

Role diffusion and identity confusion are the principal liabilities of this age. A period of experimentation with various ideologies, roles and identities is a prerequisite to an achieved identity. Erikson (1963a) suggested that an adolescent who fails in the identity search is destined to experience an inability to find a meaningful and secure place in the immediate world and especially with regard to social group. This failure to begin to make choices and gain a positive sense of self from referent groups may promulgate an inability to establish a stable identity. Negative identity in which the individual opposes the

dominant values of their upbringing, or responds to a lack of support and nurturance may result in the acquisition of a permanent identity that is characterized by self-destructive or asocial behaviors. Erikson (1959) repeatedly acknowledged the power of the peer group at this age and warned that chronicity can occur when an adolescent "if faced with continuing diffusion, would rather be nobody or somebody bad, or indeed, dead. . . . than be not-quite somebody" (p. 132).

Marcia's Paradigm

Phinney and Chavira (1992) asserted that the most widely utilized empirical approach which operationalizes the theoretical framework of Erikson is the identity status paradigm of James Marcia (1980). Although the identity statuses were developed as a methodological means in which to study the theoretical notions delineated by Erikson, Marcia (1980) suggested that the components have now become a part of identity theory thus extending the developmentally based psychosocial task hierarchy.

Marcia (1980) conceived adolescence as a crucial time for change in structural form. That is, it is a transition period in approach to cognitive tasks; from concrete to formal operations, in approach to moral issues; from law and order to reasoning related to transcendent human values and in approach to psychosocial concerns; from external direction and expectations to one's own belief system of

history, skills, shortcomings, and goals (p. 160). These tasks represent common patterns typical of adolescence.

The identity process is not finite; formation occurs gradually and is replete with decision-making that eventually becomes the core or consistent structure of identity formation. The identity statuses listed are four methods of resolution characteristic of late adolescence: (a) identity achievement; (b) foreclosure; (c) identity diffusion; and (d) moratorium.

There are two criteria necessary to the accurate classification of an individual to one of the statuses above. The first criteria is the presence or absence of an exploration time which requires awareness and consideration of relevant issues. The second criteria is the extent of personal investment or commitment towards both occupation and ideology. Marcia's (1980) model provides a paradigm for categorizing adolescents into one of the four ego identity statuses identified above.

The two advanced ego identity statuses are an Achieved Identity which is characterized by individuals who have experienced an identity search and exploration which has led to a clear and secure sense of self. Implicit to the Moratorium Status is the process of search and exploration, but unlike those adolescents with an Achieved Identity status, there is no evidence of commitment. Moratoriums are

actually in the throes of an identity crisis which has not been resolved.

The less mature statuses are identified as Foreclosure and Diffusion. Foreclosure is defined as a rigid beginning to the identity formation process and adolescents may show commitment to ideological positions. These commitments do not involve search and exploration, they are primarily parroting their parents' point of view. The beliefs are accepted without fundamental questioning. A lack of definition or the Diffusion status is characterized by those adolescents who are likely to change their opinion depending upon the external direction, and there is an absence of search as well as commitment (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990).

Ego identity and healthy psychological functioning has been strongly linked by the extensive research of Waterman (1985), but is largely restricted to males. Ponterotto and Pedersen's (1993) review of Delworth's (1989) work illustrated the differences in gender identity development. College women who had a committed identity (either Foreclosed or Achieved) demonstrated higher levels of self-esteem and lower levels of anxiety. Delworth relied on feminist research (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987) to interpret the findings of Schenkel and Marcia (1972). Commitment was the pivotal factor and a sense of anchoring in the roots of familial relationships provided the basis

for the relational component vital to female development. Women in the Moratorium status were rendered anchorless and without commitment (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993).

Additionally, of conceptual importance are the recent findings in the identity research of Stephen, Fraser and Marcia (1993). The researchers advise that it would be inappropriate to conclude that because identity formation is crucial to the stage of adolescence that resolution has to occur and be completed within that time frame. Rather than a linear progression through the hierarchical identity statuses, they describe an approach that interprets the identity process as spiral rather than linear.

The identity process is one that operates between the formation and maintenance of structure on the one hand, while maintaining its flexibility and openness to change on the other. The developmental beginnings of the identity stage in adolescence are the extremes of the two poles: rigidity (Foreclosure) and lack of definition (Diffusion). Engagement in exploration, the "identity crisis," is typically the first movement towards the integration of these poles and identity consolidation. After a period of exploration (Moratorium), identity relevant choices will be made from the roles, beliefs, and attitudes experimented with earlier. Commitments will be made to these choices, and a life direction will be charted accordingly. An

individual will now be categorized as in the stage of Identity Achievement.

Bilsker and Marcia (1991) explained the phenomenon of status regression from a cyclical perspective. That is, the commitments made initially at the time of ego consolidation resulting in Achieved Identity status will eventually become obsolete in light of emergent cognition, affect, values, and external life events. If receptive, the individual is then propelled into a revisitation of the Moratorium status. This cycle is congruent with Marcia's (1980) earlier perspective that the identity process neither begins nor ends with adolescence and should be conceptualized within a developmental life span.

Identity formation is an evolving configuration (Erikson, 1963b) and the developmental nature of the psychosocial stages are open to both process and structural shifts. An understanding of identity development is central to understanding self in relation to the world and has received a great deal of attention in the psychological literature. Initial focus on the areas of career, religious, and political ideology has been expanded upon to include gender roles, friendship, and dating patterns which represent domains considered central to ego identity formation (Phinney & Tarver, 1988).

Citing Waterman's (1985) perspective that the central issues in ego identity formation are centered on those

aspects of an individual's life that require important decision-making, Phinney and Tarver (1988) contended that ethnicity is such an area for minority individuals. In one study, students representative of four minority ethnic groups rated ethnicity as an essential identity concern above politics and equal to religion (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Cross (1971) and Helms (1990) have illustrated the centrality of ethnic development for Black Americans. Like ego identity formation, Rotherham and Phinney (1987) posited that a child's ethnic identity is not a stagnant attribute, but develops epigenically in response to developmental and new environmental challenges. Phinney and Chavira (1992) believed that the developmental context applied to the study of ethnicity is not only appropriate, but central to empirical enlightenment specific to adolescents.

Ethnic Identity Development

Leading researchers, Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993), assert that the process by which adolescents develop commitments to identity statuses has focused specifically on the areas of occupation, religion, political ideology, and gender roles. They agree that the psychological domain of ethnic identity, or that aspect of identity formation that is concerned with the psychological relationship of ethnic minority group members with their own group as defined by Phinney (1990), is essential to the development of a healthy self-concept and is as central to the development of

identity formation as the more traditionally researched areas.

Stepick (1992) contended that Haitians in Miami perceive all dominant cultures in South Florida as oppressors who discriminate against them. In discussing counselor training, leading counseling researchers (e.g., Sabnani, Ponterotto, & Borodovsky, 1991) endorsed the need for White ethnic identity models that would help dominant culture counselors become more effective in cross-cultural therapeutic relationships. Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) suggested that coming to terms with the "power, privilege, and responsibility for change" (p. 63) is fundamental to personal ethnic identity development. Daniel-Tatum (1992) asserted that a system of advantage that breeds racism is operational in America for Whites. She maintained that an effect of this racism inherent in childhood environments may provide the impetus for limiting relationships with persons of color in adulthood. Further, Daniel-Tatum implied that giving voice to issues of oppression such as racism, classism, and sexism within an identity development context is intrinsic to the learning process. If ethnic identity is a principal task of personal development for the dominant culture, then counselor intervention directed toward the development of a healthy ethnic identity for Haitian adolescents is of paramount importance if normal human developmental processes are to occur.

Phinney's Model of Adolescent Ethnic Identity Development

In their review of minority identity development, Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) featured the extensive work of Phinney (e.g., 1989, 1990; Phinney et al., 1990). Several leading theorists are cited, but Phinney's is the only model specifically related to adolescents rather than adults. Phinney et al. (1990) extended the identity work of Erikson (1963a, 1968), as operationalized by Marcia (1980), to create an ethnic identity model applicable to minority adolescents. Phinney's model has three stages with an optimal outcome of identity achievement, which she defines as a positive sense of oneself as an ethnic group member. Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) asserted that the three stages constitute the process by which minority adolescents explore ethnic issues and negotiate survival in a bicultural world.

The conceptual assumption espoused by Phinney, Lochner, and Murphy (1990) holds that a "commitment to an ethnic identity is an important component of the self-concept of minority youth and a factor that mediates the relation between minority status and adjustment" (p. 54). They identified two salient issues that must be confronted and resolved in order for minority group members to commit to a secure ethnic identity that provides meaning and direction in an ethnically divisive world. The issues identified by

Phinney (1990) require that the adolescent explore and take a stand with regard to their status as minority group members. The primary source of stress for these adolescents is the actuality of ignorance and stereotyping at one end of a continuum, and prejudice accompanied by discrimination at the other end. The second issue is the existence of different sets of norms and values; those that apply to the culture of origin and those that are held for the majority. Failing to consciously confront and deal with these conflicts may lead to a diffused or foreclosed identity: two characteristics typified by the first stage of Phinney's ethnic identity development model.

Stage 1

Phinney (1989) pointed out that an individual who has not engaged in an active exploration of ethnic issues or has not made a decisive commitment is said to have a diffuse identity. A diffuse identity level is manifested by a disinterest or lack of concern regarding ethnic issues. Most adolescents in Stage 1 of identity development are representative of the diffused identity status. Foreclosed status involves commitment but only on the basis of parental opinion, or the values and attitudes of the dominant culture. Diffused and foreclosed statuses render adolescents at-risk to accept and internalize negative stereotypes and beliefs. Phinney's research provides evidence for the concept that the failure of an adolescent

to examine ethnic issues, creates risk factors for poor psychological adjustment. Stage 1 adolescents have reported lower scores on subscales regarding self-mastery, social, and peer relations, and family relationships (Phinney, Lochner & Murphy, 1990). Further research with Asian, Black, and Mexican-American college students correlated Stage 1 students with high levels of low self-esteem (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990).

Stage 2

Rather than a dramatic personal experience or crisis, the onset of stage 2 is initiated by a subtle yet growing awareness that the values of the dominant cultural group may not be helpful to the minority individual (Phinney, 1989). The growing awareness in stage 2 facilitates a process of search or moratorium which may require coming to terms with cultural differences between the culture of origin and the dominant culture. Learning more about the culture of origin is an integral part of this process and helps to clarify a personal perspective about the meaning of ethnicity. Emotional intensity may accompany this deepening awareness and its metacognitive processes.

Stage 3

Stage 3 is depicted as the resolution of the ethnic component of ego identity. A process of search followed by commitment has culminated in what Phinney (1989) referred to as ethnic identity achievement. This status epitomizes an

acceptance that is internalized and integrated. Its corollary is an accompanying sense of ethnic pride, belonging, and confidence. Phinney and Alipuria (1992) suggested that an achieved identity serves as a buffer against the negative impact of prejudice and discrimination.

Gender and Adolescence

Nielsen (1987) argued that the universal physiological differences of sex and gender should not be equivocated with the separate and distinct concept of gender role or "sex typing" (p. 187). She defined gender role and sex typing as the characteristics and behaviors endorsed by society as being appropriate for either males or females. These roles vary by geographic region, ethnic group affiliation, and age.

The research on gender roles has included the study of physiological sex differences and behavior, the differences between male and female activities and interests, comparisons by sex regarding their personal and social characteristics, such as aggression, dependence and nurturance, contrasts between male and female communication styles, and the study of the adolescent's identity (Hodgson & Fischer, 1978, 1979). Huston's (1984) analysis of a review of the literature between 1974 and 1984 concerning gender roles in adolescence revealed a dramatic change in psychological perspective. He concluded that the more recent research suggested that gender role differences are a

result of socialization experiences and that human attributes that are valued by society are increasingly valued for both sexes, thus eliminating sex role differences that are based on stereotypic viewpoints about masculine and feminine attributes.

Huston (1984) argued that there is "repeated evidence that masculine attributes are more often socially valued and more often associated with self-esteem and adaptive functioning for both males and females than are feminine traits" (p. 450). Nielsen (1987) concurs that the attributes associated with the male gender role (e.g., independent, competitive, self-confident) continue to be more highly esteemed by adolescents and adults than the attributes associated with the female role (e.g., emotional, kind, cooperative).

The advantage of being male extends to the classroom where studies concur that counselors, teachers, and parents provide more encouragement to boys in terms of developing their intellectual, vocational, and academic pursuits (Denmark & Paludi, 1993; Gates, 1978; Schmuck & Schmuck, 1979; Williams & Best, 1982). Not surprisingly, additional studies (e.g., Simmons, Brown, Bush, & Blyth, 1978) have suggested that females have lower self-esteem than males, especially during early adolescence.

Although females usually go through the changes of puberty two years earlier than boys (Comer & Poussaint,

1992), Nielsen (1987) argued that empirical literature has not established a relationship between physiological and behavioral differences between males and females. The debate regarding which sex experiences more anxiety during adolescence is inconclusive, but sex role expectations have been identified as sources of stress for adolescent males who may go to great lengths in an effort to deny their vulnerable feelings. Adolescent males tend to deal with their feelings through verbal and physical aggression while females are more likely to internalize their anger and frustrations (Locksley & Douvan, 1980).

Sex differences have been noted in the extent to which an adolescent feels powerful and in control of most of the events of their lives (locus of control). Studies have found that females are not as confident as males and have lower expectations with regard to academic achievement, vocational aspirations, and may be particularly uncomfortable with competition (Blyth, Simmons, & Zakin, 1985; Nicholson & Antill, 1981; Scarf, 1980).

Gender and Identity Development

The research on identity statuses during adolescence points to distinctions between male and female identity development. The most consistent findings suggest that females develop the capacity for intimate relationships regardless of their identity status. Matteson (1986) found that most males develop intimacy only if they have first

developed an achieved identity status. The primacy of interpersonal relationships contribute to the identity formation of females unlike males who have a need to maintain their separateness and autonomy in order to effectively define themselves. Marcia, Waterman, and Matteson (1986) recognized that attributes traditionally associated with the female gender role are advantageous in establishing intimacy while attributes traditionally associated with the male gender role are essential in establishing an ideological and vocational identity.

Increasing empirical attention has been paid to the process by which identity formation occurs in females. Interpretation of gender differences in the early studies of identity is difficult because as Gilligan (1979) pointed out, most of the research subjects were male. However, sex differences have been determined in personality correlates when Marcia's identity status model was employed. For example, Archer (1989) applied Marcia's identity status (1980) paradigm across three dimensions. Males were found to be foreclosed more often than females, there was no difference with regard to gender in the timing of identity development, and moratorium and identity achievement were more prevalent for females than males.

These findings contradict the earlier work based on Marcia's research construct. Across gender, foreclosures were generally authoritarian, tended to be obedient and held

to traditional values. More women tended to be in foreclosure status and the educated professional women sampled, experienced more fear of success than their male counterparts in the achievement status (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972). Schenkel (1975) suggested that as women become more liberated in terms of their life roles, their identity status would change as well. These findings would explain the increase in moratorium and achievement observed by Archer (1989) in the previous research. Streitmatter's (1993) analysis of the relationship between gender and identity development suggested that the identity development process based on Erikson's theory is not differentiated by gender. In essence, the pathways by which identity is achieved may differ, but they are complementary rather than conflicting.

The extent to which gender interacts with ethnic identity development is an important variable in this study. The authority of the male as the decision-maker and as one who expects obedience from his wife and children is a traditional role that has been emphasized in Haitian and Haitian-American cultures (M. Piverger, personal communication, January 1994). Adolescent boys are typically afforded far greater freedom and privileges than their female siblings. In other cultures that maintain similar roles for males, young female women have experienced role conflict (Millan & Chan, 1991). Hmong, Khmer, and Vietnamese

women have indicated that the independence and freedoms afforded American women have propelled them away from aspects of their cultures which they find increasingly repressive (Blakely, 1982). The tendency of the Asian females to prefer ethnic identification with Anglo-Americans is a response that may be comparable to the experience of Haitian adolescent females today.

Coping Strategies

If adolescents are not provided with the opportunity to deal with the meaning of ethnicity group membership in a racially conflicted world, possible behavioral responses can be categorized into four domains: a) alienation and marginalization occurs if the individual internalizes negative stereotypes presented by the dominant society and the adolescent becomes alienated from both the culture of origin and the majority culture; (b) assimilation may be attempted in which no ties are kept with the culture of origin, although people of color cannot completely assimilate within a White majority; and (c) integration or biculturalism in which aspects of both cultures are embraced (Padilla, 1993; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Biculturality can be considered an optimal response, but it has been associated with severe stress among immigrant families.

Age and Length of Time Living in Host Country

The adaptive process of cultural adjustment which is initiated when two or more cultural groups maintain contact

was identified by Mena, Padilla, and Maldonado (1987) as the process of acculturation. Moderating variables that may affect this complex process is the length of time an individual has resided in the host country and the age at which the uprooting occurs, two variables that are investigated in this research.

The wave theory of migration (Stein, 1981) explained the demographic and sociocultural history of immigrants and is especially relevant to the Haitian immigrants currently entering the United States. It points to the extensive need for counselor intervention regarding the adaptation of current and future immigrants. The theory suggests that the economically elite, upper level military, and the well educated usually constitute a first wave of migration followed by a second wave of middle-class, less educated merchants, lower level military, and family members seeking unification with those who preceded them. Grenier and Stepick (1992) pointed out that the majority of those Haitians arriving currently and seeking asylum are members of the third wave. The third wave is composed of those immigrants who have the least education, the lowest literacy rates in their own languages, are usually poor, and inhabitants of rural areas (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988). Stepick and Portes (1986) noted that the more recently arrived Haitian immigrant is the least

prepared for life in the United States, especially the educational and social milieus.

In attempting to cope with a new life in a new country, there are two dysfunctional approaches that may sabotage a newcomers' successful adaptation. B. Page (personal communication, April 17, 1994) identifies the first method as the newcomers total abandonment, or in effect, a disownership and denial of the culture of origin. The second method employed is the complete rejection of any aspect of the host culture as evidenced by clinging and adhering completely to the culture of origin. The former is demonstrated by many Haitian adolescents in Miami, and the latter is illustrated by the behavior of their parents. The crux of this intergenerational problem is exacerbated by the ethnic developmental identity task that is intrinsic to adolescence.

Aronowitz's (1984) review of research on immigrant children found frequent disruption of identity in adolescents. This negative influence on development increased when the immigrant was of a racial minority that was devalued by the dominant culture in the host country. Aronowitz concluded that an identity crisis could be predicted when the adolescent was forced into choosing between the old values prized by the culture of origin and those of the host culture.

Studies of the acculturation of ethnically diverse immigrant populations including Indochinese, Hmong, Cuban, and Vietnamese groups concur in their findings that those immigrants in the adolescent stage of development at the time of uprooting are experiencing multiple life transitions that require multiple levels of adaptation (Baizerman, Hendricks, Hammond, Nguyen, & Neal, 1988; Castro, 1986; Porte & Toney-Purta, 1987). Archer's (1989) investigation of Southeast Asian adolescent immigrants suggested the concurrent operation of four identity systems that often conflict and overlap: (a) Southeast Asian, (b) American, (c) refugee, and (d) adolescent. Gay (1978) identified the dilemma of the minority adolescent to be: (a) the normal transition from childhood to adolescence, and (b) the movement from childhood within the context of particular ethnic group memberships or racial backgrounds. The process of becoming an immigrant complicates adaptation and negotiation of life in a new country and for children arriving during adolescence, the acculturative stress is exacerbated.

Research concurs that those adolescents who migrate after the age of 12 and during the teenage years, suffer stress born of the crisis of immigration and the challenges posed by the developmental task of identity formation (Burnham, Hough, Karno, Escobar, & Telles, 1987; Esquivel & Keitel, 1990). Additionally, lower self-esteem has been

reported in various Hispanic groups of adolescents, including Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban immigrants (Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982). A systematic investigation of the extent to which ethnic identity interacts with age in Haitian adolescents is a salient question that has never been considered in the counseling literature, but is a factor explored in this study.

The length of time an immigrant has resided in the United States must be understood within the context of acculturation theory which deals with the adjustment of minority groups to the culture of the dominant group (Sodowsky, Lai, & Plake, 1991). It is important to counseling because it provides a framework for understanding the psychological stresses of immigrant populations. This stress is specific to the acculturation process and refers to mental health problems, deviance, and social disintegration that may occur as a result of the acculturation process depending upon a myriad of moderating variables (Berry & Kim, 1988). These influential variables include education and income, age, years of residence in the United States, ethnic density of the neighborhood, country of birth, job skills, religion, and purpose of immigration (Castro, 1986).

Berry's (1985) notions regarding acculturation included those variations which occur due to continuous contact with another culture resulting in sociocultural (group level) and

behavioral (individual level) changes. The ideal resolution is biculturality wherein the individual embraces aspects of the host culture as well as the culture of origin. Golden's (1988) review of the research related to acculturation pointed to the need for the retention of one's ethnic heritage in order to facilitate and enhance adaptation to the host culture. Padilla (1980, 1993) and other researchers (e.g., Berry & Kim, 1988) concur that empirical evidence supports the notion that maintaining the ethnic traditions and values of the country of origin, in addition to including aspects of the host cultures' traditions and values, contributes to the promotion of mental health in immigrant populations.

A review of acculturation literature did not reveal specific empirical attention to the interaction between ethnic identity and the length of time the immigrant has resided in the host country. However, studies have examined related variables, such as self-esteem, ethnic loyalty, generational differences, and the variance between political, voluntary, and refugee status. For example, Salgado DeSnyder's (1987) study of ethnic loyalty in Mexican-American immigrants found that ethnic loyalty increased with the age at the time of immigration. The influence of the variable of education, regardless of the length of time in the United States, is supported dramatically in another study that investigated the length

of time in the host country as a variable suggesting that acculturation is a function of educational level (Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982).

The intergenerational dilemma identified previously by Page (1994) is a function of the attempt of the acculturating adolescent to confront the developmental crisis of identity within a social context that becomes increasingly more influential with the onset of the teen years (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991). For Haitian adolescents in Miami, the social identification with a group that is disparaged is extremely difficult to contend with yet central to the development of an achieved identity as conceptualized by Phinney (1990). She advises that minority adolescents are in need of an opportunity to explore their feelings and beliefs about their ethnicity, because successful navigation through this developmental morass will result in better adjustment, high self-esteem, and solid psychological adjustment.

Language and Ethnic Identity Development

Walsh's (1987) definition of language as a sociocultural phenomenon emphasizes the interactional nature of language development. Giroux and McLaren (1992) pointed out that it is through language that experience is defined and our interpretation of that experience results in behavior. They agree conceptually with Walsh that language development occurs within a social context, but hold that a

comprehensive understanding of language, identity, and the interaction of these variables within a sociocultural context is sorely lacking in the literature (p. 8). However, for the increasing numbers of multiethnic minorities, the issue of language becomes central to the negotiation of a new culture without abandoning the old (Cummins, 1984, 1986).

The ways of using language is inherently more important than the specific language one knows. Heath (1986) contends that ethnography has helped to identify three factors critical to the language socialization of language minority groups. The three factors are: (1) parental assumptions about their role in teaching language, and parenting or child-rearing roles; (2) the range or genres of language uses available at home; and (3) the extent of opportunities young children have for using language that differs from the way it is used in the home. Heath (1986) noted that illegal alien parents may not seek extensive interactions with outside institutions and the children maintain language use and cultural beliefs that differ greatly from the way language is used within the classroom.

Research related to the cross-cultural patterns of language socialization are in support of the influence of the three factors identified above, but the varying roles of parenting styles is of particular importance across cultural groups. For example, differences in parenting roles and

their influence on language socialization was found in Chinese-American families (e.g., Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986), recently arrived Mexican immigrants,(e.g., Montgomery & Orczco, 1984), and the families of Vietnamese children attending public school (Castro, 1983).

Parenting influences are augmented by other powerful factors as the child grows up. Ethnic identity is predicated upon an ethnic identification (Milner, 1984; Norton, 1983). A discussion of the studies related to ethnic identity and attitudes toward language reveals the centrality of language to ethnic self-labeling (Hurtado & Guerin, 1987). These researchers illustrated the Chicano movement of the late 60s and 70s in which derogatory names were turned into symbols of pride, as an example of ethnic identity that was facilitated by the variable of language. Attitudes regarding language as a factor in ethnic identity have been investigated in several studies (e.g., Burnham, Telles, Karno, Hough, & Escobar, 1987). The extent to which the language spoken within the home affects the normative process of ethnic identity development, as opposed to ethnic identification, is a salient factor that has not elicited research attention as of yet.

The present study investigated the subjects' gain score on the MEIM with regard to the primary language spoken in the home of the Haitian adolescent. Rorro (1984) stated that language is the most salient factor in differentiating

Haitians from other immigrant groups. Until recently, French has been the official language despite the fact that Creole is spoken by all Haitians, and French is spoken by a relatively small segment of the population. Creole, the national language, is considered the peasant tongue, and French is the language of business, the bank, and the school. This has resulted in a linguistic duality reflective of the class struggle which has in effect, rendered many Haitian students without literacy skills in any language. The language situation perpetuates class distinctions in Haiti, and cultural discontinuity between the home, school, and society.

Despite the fact that Creole and French are two languages that are "mutually unintelligible" (Foster, 1980, p. 10), American educators have confused the two languages. American educators have even taught newcomer Haitian immigrants French because: (1) they thought Creole was a variation of French, and (2) parents enroll their children as French speakers because of the prestige associated in Haiti. Hallman, Etienne and Fradd (1982) held that the result has been serious adjustment problems and difficulty in reading. The relationship of the variable of the language of origin spoken in the home is an extremely unique and important area of attention in this current study of ethnic identity development.

Historical Context of Haiti

A first step in initiating any multicultural research calls for an understanding of the history and endemic cultural variables that provide access to shaping a conceptual understanding of a population. Plummer (1988) argued that the historical experience of a country establishes its self-consciousness. Minority children and adolescents are the most rapidly growing portion of the youth population in America and extant research that would enlighten the helping professionals about their needs is sparse (Gibbs & Huang, 1989). A literature review conducted by Giles (1990) specifically focused on locating counseling literature related to the needs of Haitian children and their families. In light of the paucity of publications found, she recommended that counselors need additional information about the historic and contemporary realities faced by Haitian immigrants. This portion of the literature review will attempt to capture the essence of a contextual framework towards understanding the contemporary needs of Haitian immigrant families.

Haiti...Then

Even though Haiti is now considered to be the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere, (Foster & Valdman, 1984; Weinstein & Segal, 1984), prior to the Spanish conquest the island is described as having been lush, fertile, with a civilization that was well defined and peacefully

functional. The second largest island in the Caribbean is shared by the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Originally from South America, the Taino Arawak were the sole inhabitants of the island, prior to the arrival of the Europeans, and responsible for naming the land Ayiti which when translated, means "mountainous land" (Leyburn, 1966; Network of Educators on the Americas & Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean, 1993).

The center of the Arawak culture was Ayiti and it was divided into five main nations. Each village was governed by a chief who was either a man or a woman, and cooperation was basic to the rhythm of daily life. Plant and animal life were in abundance and hunting, fishing, and agriculture insured adequate sustenance for the entire culture. Central to each village was a dedicated community area for celebrations, sports, games, and religious ceremonies. The culture was self-sustaining and generative.

In 1492 Columbus arrived claiming Ayiti as the first Spanish settlement, and he renamed the country La Isla Espanola (Hispaniola). The western portion of Santo Domingo was later to become a French colony (Saint Domingue), which in 1804 became the Republic of Haiti and the eastern segment ultimately became the Dominican Republic.

The Taino Arawaks' good faith was destroyed by the Spaniards. James (1963) described the resultant devastation by stating that "they introduced Christianity, forced labor

in mines, murder, rape, bloodhounds, strange diseases, and artificial famine by the destruction of cultivation to starve the rebellious" (p. 4). The Spaniards' mistaken belief that the island was endowed with bountiful sources of gold led to the forced labor and subsequent massacre of those Tainos who attempted to resist the Spaniard's tyranny. Bartolome de las Casas, a priest who accompanied Columbus, is credited with protesting the barbaric treatment of the Taino by returning to Spain and pleading for the abolition of native slavery. Vilaire, Oriol, and Cohen (1981) pointed out that two very different ethnic groups, two cultures were face to face in Espanola. The conflict is declared when Columbus suggested that his military leaders cut off the ears of the native "thieves" and results in the genocide protested by Las Casas.

Outlawed by the Spanish government, but continued in practice, the inhumane treatment and incidence of smallpox furthered the demise of the Taino Arawaks. In an effort to prevent the slave labor from totally destroying the culture in one generation, Las Casas suggested to King Charles V the importation of the more robust people of color from a populous Africa. In 1517, Charles V authorized the export of 15,000 people from Africa and the slave trade was born by virtue of the contract between priest and king (Weinstein & Segal, 1984).

The slaves who were imported came from regions of west Africa including Yoruba, Fon, and the Congo described by historians as rich in culture (Plummer, 1988; Weil, et al., 1973). James (1963) elucidated the unceasing brutality the Africans endured. "Worked like animals the slaves were housed like animals" (p. 10) and the inhumane treatment included starvation, brutal beatings and tortures that included mutilation, and burning them alive. African voodoo chanted at night reflected the desire for freedom and the slave owners recognized the song that warned "We swear to destroy the Whites and all that they possess; let us die rather than try to keep this vow" (James, 1963, p.18).

Within fifty years of the Spanish arrival, most of the Taino civilization, estimated by researchers (e.g., Weinstein & Segal, 1984) to have been between sixty and six hundred thousand, had been rendered virtually extinct. English and French pirates determined to destroy Spanish shipping established a base on the western part of Hispaniola commonly called Tortuga. The capital of Hispaniola, Santa Domingo, became the dominant port for military protection and staging of expeditions, but Hispaniola was deserted by the Spaniards after the conquest of Mexico by Cortes in 1521. Peruvian and Mexican gold motivated the Spaniards to abandon Hispaniola. Spanish desertion after desecration became the typical behavior of the countries that followed: England, France, and Holland

(Vilaire, Oriol, & Cohen, 1981). Haitian historian, Dorsainvil (1926, cited in Weil, 1973), suggested that the population of the colony in 1545 totaled no more than 1,100 persons.

The base that had been established by the French and English pirates was extended to surrounding territories after the French overruled the English (Weil et al., 1973). In 1664, the territory was placed under the control of the French West India Company and governed by a former pirate at the direction of King Louis XIV (Myrdal, 1957). The western area of Hispaniola was called Saint-Domingue by the French and under the Treaty of Ryswick, Spain relinquished authority over Saint-Domingue.

Historians (e.g., Weil et al., 1973) maintain that the population at the end of the 17th century included approximately 6,000 White and Mulatto males. The term Mulatto was applied to the first generation of Black and White offspring and all subsequent descendants. Nicholls' extensive exploration in 1970, 1974, and 1984 of Haitian color and class suggests that the current predilection regarding the phenomenon that "Blacks are poor and the lighter skinned people are relatively rich" (Nicholls, 1984, p. 253) dates back to a decree issued by Louis XIV in 1685 that provided freedom and French citizenship to Mulattos who numbered almost 28,000 at the end of the 18th century as

opposed to an estimated 250,000 Black slaves and a resident White population of more than 30,000 (Weil et al, 1973).

Class divisions rooted in colonialism are explained by Plummer (1988) through a system of hierarchical relationships. The European merchant or farmer was positioned at the top of the social ladder and the slaves and peasants at the bottom. Colonial prosperity was based on the brutal slavery of an estimated half a million imported Africans (Network of Educators on the Americas and the Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean, 1993). Mulatto men and women known as affranchis owned plantations and slaves; their peaceful letter writing and petitions for freedom from the restraints imposed by Whites ended with the torture and deaths of leaders Vincent Oge and J. B. Chavannes (Weinstein & Segal, 1984).

In 1789 slave rebellions occurred throughout the Caribbean and culminated in the slave revolution of 1791 which was initiated by a slave named Boukman who was a Voodoo priest. He and his followers killed many slave owners before their capture (Brescia, 1992). Black troops were joined by Maroons, slaves who had escaped the plantations years before and lived in mountain enclaves (Wilentz, 1989). Toussaint Louverture, a slave by birth, joined a group of former slaves and led the uprising through application of successful political and military strategy

which led to the demise of both Spanish and British strongholds (Weil et al., 1973).

Napoleon Bonaparte's troops sentenced Louverture to exile in France where he died. Former slave Jean Jacques Dessaline united Black former slave Henry Christophe and the Mulatto free man Alexandre Petion who together defeated the French forces and declared Independence on January 1, 1804. The state was baptized Haiti in deference to the extinct Arawak. Dessaline's secretary suggested that the Haitian Declaration of Independence should be written on parchment made of the skin of the White man "using his skull as an inkwell and his blood for ink" (Wilentz, 1989, p. 78).

The successful slave uprising resulted in the overthrow of the entire slavery system and is touted historically as the founding of the world's first Black republic and the world's second republic, the first being the United States. Critical factors that influenced this event were: (a) the unity of the St. Dominigue slaves created by the African religious beliefs of Voodoo, which served to bond together Haitians of different ethnic backgrounds; (b) the French revolution of 1789 that sparked slave rebellions throughout the Caribbean; and (c) the effulgent political and military strategy demonstrated by the leadership of Toussaint Louverture. The fear of White invasion remained constant (Wilentz, 1989).

Diplomatic recognition was refused by the slave holding western powers which served to isolate and cut off all trade. France exacted payment for recognition which created great economic debt. Plummer's (1988) research synthesized the ensuing historical conditions which proliferated the demise of the social, political, and economic potential of Haiti. She contends that the fragile democracy was undermined by a world that viewed the endemic revolutionary upheavals through racist eyes that labeled the new nation's political process as anarchic and a demonstration of Black incompetence. Therefore, Haiti remained an international pariah, and 22 dictators, who were often corrupt and involved in the Haitian military, competed for power.

Cultural Division

The division by race created by French colonial rule was perpetuated through the rivalry between Black Haitians and Mulattos. The most divisive factor, however, concerned a very small privileged minority which included Haitians of both races who lived in the towns (principally Port-au-Prince) and controlled the government, the armed forces, and commerce. Wilentz (1989) contended that the elite were invincible and attempted to imitate a European lifestyle which was in marked contrast to the culturally separate world of the country dweller.

More than 80% (Cobb, 1987) of the people lived in the rural areas and farmed corn, beans, and yams for

subsistence, and coffee for export. Language served as another divisive factor; urban dwellers spoke French and affairs of government and commerce excluded the peasant who spoke Creole. Required to pay taxes, the rural areas' needs for roads, schools, water, and other basics of life were ignored and daily life was shaped by Voodoo and other African influenced traditions such as cuombites, described by Courlander (1960) as a form of cooperative teamwork involving symbolic music, special consideration for the weak or sick, and a high regard for sharing and community. Coumbites were held for agricultural work and house building.

United States' Occupation

In 1915 the United States Marines invaded Haiti after threat of European economic competition regarding banking and trade interests. The Mole St. Nicholas guarded the Windward Passage to the Caribbean, which was critical to the access of ships traveling to Mexico and Latin America. Control over the Mole was sought by France, Germany, and America. Haitian political turmoil did not lend itself to the protection of United States interests, and the invasion occurred after the last of the succession of leaders killed 200 political enemies and was killed the following day by relatives of his victims. Marshall law was imposed and financial control exacted exacerbated anti-American sentiments. Improvements only benefited the elite (Hallman,

Etienne, & Fradd, 1984). Wilentz (1989) identified this period of the third wave of White invaders as an illustration of the debasement by foreign powers and an illustration of Haitian patriotism led by Charlemagne Peralte.

The United States rewrote the Haitian constitution granting foreigners the right to own land. Haitians were forced to labor without pay. Further examples of exploitation, as well as violent episodes of racist behaviors demonstrated by United States administrators and soldiers, predicated resistance to the occupation. Charlemagne Peralte led a revolt of Haitian peasants called Cacos and thousands were killed, after which Peralte was assassinated and put on public display (Heinl & Heinl, 1978). Current anti-American sentiments were fueled by an American trained Haitian National Guard, which were left in Haiti when the United States' occupation ended in 1934 (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990).

Duvalier

The Haitian National Guard became the foundation of a military guard that maintained veto power over election results. Dr. Francois Duvalier promised to help the rural Blacks and was elected President in 1957, with the approval of the army and United States' government. The dictatorship that ensued included the murder, imprisonment, and exile of any person thought to be in opposition to any aspect of his

regime. Stepick (1992) noted that unlike the customary flight of political opponents of incoming Haitian Presidents, Haitians of all levels participated in an exodus which began with those members of the upper-class who posed a threat to Duvalier. Wilentz (1989) referred to Duvalier's methods of establishing a secret police through the co-opting of the voodoo houngans, or priests whom he enlisted in his cadre of terror. Response to the increasing brutality of the armed militia created by "Papa Doc," and known as the Tonton Macoutes led to the 1964 second wave of emigration comprised of a Black middle-class who joined the majority of Haitians in New York City.

Papa Doc's control ended with his death in 1971. He was succeeded by his 19-year-old son, Baby Doc, who executed fewer dissidents but continued the practice of arbitrary arrests, torture, and imprisonment. The anti-Communist stance is credited with United States' support despite the widespread abuse of human rights. The economic conditions worsened under Baby Doc. An opposition movement driven by students and young adults, triggered by the suffering under the Duvalier regime, and supported by Catholics working with the urban poor, gathered in ti gliz or little churches. Community problems were discussed and Catholic hierarchy turned against the regime when church workers were hurt when they advocated against tyrannical abuses. In 1986, Duvalier and family left on a U.S. Air Force jet and the country

experienced Operation uproot or Dechoujak which refers to a national effort to erase all evidence of Duvalierism (Wilentz, 1989).

Haiti Now...

The governing council quickly organized by the United States government eradicated expectations of the poor for access to food, jobs, clothing. Attempts to organize labor were sabotaged and workers were fired. United States troops were sent to quell anticipated unrest when Duvalier officials were helped to leave the country rather than stand trial. The election to replace the temporary governing council comprised of wealthy civilians, Ton Ton Macoutes, and high ranking Duvalier associates, was aborted on November 29, 1987 when soldiers and Ton Ton Macoutes killed the voters at polling places throughout the country.

Lavalas

Army control ensued and resistance went underground. A priest in a ti gliz gave speeches from the pulpit about Haiti's need for a lavalas which is a cleansing flood to rid it of corruption. Although his sermons angered the elite, the Catholic hierarchy, and the ruling powers, the poor voted for him in the military-backed election on December 16, 1991. He won by a margin of 67% and Marc Bazin, backed by the United States lost, receiving only 13% of the vote. In February 1991, Aristide was inaugurated followed by a

dramatic decrease in illegal Haitian boat trips to Florida and an improvement in Haitian economy and human rights.

The army forced Aristide into exile by taking power through a coup d'etat in September of 1991. This action was followed by an immediate attempt by thousands of "boat" people to flee Haiti. Human rights abuses resumed in Haiti and thousands of refugees began fleeing in overcrowded boats. A policy of interdiction initiated by the Bush administration has been continued and daily reports of murder and torture increase as Duvalierism without Duvalier runs rampant from the slums of Cite Soleil to the rural Artibonite valley (Benesch, 1994).

Haiti Today...

A photograph of an aerial view of Haiti and the Dominican Republic provides a visual metaphor that illustrates the rape of the land and its people. The Dominican lush landscape, composed of forested terrain, is in complete contrast with the tree stripped barren land of Haiti, which is dominated by ravaged, deforested land covering 95% of the area (Cobb, 1987).

The desecration of the land, and the ideals of a people who embody a legacy of freedom and community, constitutes the current sociocultural factors affecting conscientizcao, defined by Freire (1972) as critical consciousness. Enhancing the ethnic identity development process involves attention to critical consciousness within a sociocultural

context. Haitian adolescents are in need of counselor interventions that attend to the unique cultural realities that pervade their daily lives.

The Role of Schools in Haiti and the United States

In discussing immigrant children, Esquivel, Kopala, and Baptiste (1991) suggested that both macro (institutional, societal) system and micro (individual, small group) system interventions are needed to prevent the mental health problems that may occur as a result of acculturative stress. Given the reality of increasingly diverse American schools, examination of the institutional climate is vital prior to implementation of specific interventions directed towards children. A report published by the National Coalition of Advocates for Students (1994) identifies factors that ensure "newcomer students a place at the common table while affording them respect for the closely held values that are unique to their culture" (p. 6). A school climate that honors and appreciates diversity, rather than one that requires the immigrant to deny evidence of ethnic heritage is central to the institutional interpretation of the role of the school in the development of the child (Leake, 1993). The primacy of relationship to another person within the school walls is the second factor that establishes the role of the school as that of promotor or saboteur of ethnic identity development. Schools that encourage interpersonal

connection that is respectful of diversity provide a substantial basis for learning, growth, and the fostering of ethnic identity development.

Knowledge of the newcomer student's psychosocial and educational background is an imperative to establishing a relationship. The schools that Haitian immigrants enter upon arriving in the United States differ radically from those they may have attended in Haiti (Francois, 1994).

Rorro (1992) suggested that the current high regard for education demonstrated by Haitian parents today stems from the early days of Haitian freedom when the former slave's awareness of the importance of learning was inspired by the cultural legacy of the French. The Vatican Concordat of 1860 sanctioned French religious orders with the responsibility of staffing Haitian schools. A social dichotomy separated the literate few who were exposed to instruction that disparaged their African heritage and extolled the French culture. This created an elitist system with few public schools that were available to the masses (Rorro, 1984). The French educational system continues to serve the elite class despite a universal mandate for compulsory education established in 1976. Racine (1981) claimed that the French Religious orders perpetuate the elitist schools that do not contribute to the establishment of any semblance of the compulsory education required for students aged 6 through 14 years. She identified additional

contributing factors that impede education as sociopolitical, topographical, and economic. Most of the population is rural and to combat this obstacle, some children are leased out to urban families who pay for their education in return for household help services (Hallman, Etienne, & Fradd, 1982). The multitude of barriers, however, has resulted in a 20% literacy rate (Cobb, 1987).

Haitian Education

An expository style of teaching calls for learning by rote memory which is a remaining vestige from the French educational system (Racine, 1981). There is a paucity of textbooks which are produced in France or Canada and may cost as much as eleven dollars, which is one-tenth of a rural family's yearly income. Parents are responsible for all books, supplies, and uniforms. The type of education received is dependent upon so many factors that it is difficult to generalize the experience of the individual newcomer. Roles of the parent, teacher, and students, however, are clearly defined and in direct contrast with those espoused by the dominant American culture (Biamby & Nachman, 1985).

Parenting style is authoritarian and the friendly confidant portrayed by many American parents is a role that many Haitian parents perceive as appalling and irresponsible. Children are not buddies and are generally not expected to provide their opinions and ideas without

being asked. This deference to adults extends to the classroom and a teacher's authority supersedes the parental authority when the child is at school. Teachers are feared and respected (Rorro, 1984). Haitian parents expect the school to instill discipline and impart knowledge. Classes are usually very large and the lecture teaching style stresses one way communication.

Students are expected to memorize their lessons and homework is extensive. Study partners are encouraged, and peer tutors are usually assigned from within the classroom. Extracurricular activities are not a part of the school experience. Haitian parents place their children with educational experts and expect teachers to demonstrate strong leadership (M. Piverger, personal communication, January, 1994). Table 2 illustrates several of the contrasts faced by Haitian children who migrate to the United States.

American Schools

Rorro (1984) believed that many Haitian students are upset when they observe that teachers in the United States are not respected by students as they are in Haiti. Further, many Haitian students react to the informality and may withdraw or act-out in an attempt to deal with the confusion experienced by a reduction of limits. Discrimination and prejudice is practiced in some schools,

Table 2

Contrasts in Education Between Haiti and the United States

Parent Role		Student Role		School Role	
Haiti	U.S.	Haiti	U.S.	Haiti	U.S.
authoritarian	collegial	passive recipient of knowledge	pragmatic active and participatory	emphasis on cooperation	emphasis on competition
expects teacher to impose and enforce discipline	discipline style varies and focuses on the "why" of rules	personal relationship orientation	product orientation	no extracurricular activities	extracurricular activities
formal	informal	respectful of teachers as experts	parents encouraged to give input	testing through essay	standardized tests
pays for supplies and uniforms	school provides books and supplies	rote memory	students use initiatives and knowledge seeking	more intuitive reasoning	inductive reasoning
extended family	small structure	lasting close relationships	fluid casual relationships	primary responsibility for children is with the school	primary responsibility for children is with the parent
		past present time orientation	future oriented		
		peer interaction only at lunch time	social experiences encouraged in classroom		
		peer study mate to practice lessons	cooperative learning		

and Haitian students are verbally taunted with name calling or even physical attack.

While their children are confronting a sometimes hostile environment and negotiating the language and rules for survival, Haitian parents are simultaneously disempowered of their parenting authority. Haitian parents regard for the school as an institution which embodies knowledge, authority, and discipline is threatened by the violence, drug involvement, and incidences of teenage pregnancy that they observe in the dominant cultures. The American emphasis on active problem-solving and interaction with peers is in direct contrast to the passive learning style required in Haiti. Schools encourage involvement in extracurricular activities, a concept that is alien to the experience of Haitian parents, and often serves as a source of conflict in families. The corporal punishment paradigm practiced normatively in Haiti is discouraged by most contemporary American social mores and many Haitian parents are fearful of losing their children to negative American influences (M. Piverger, personal communication, January 24, 1994).

School-Based Psychoeducational Preventive Counseling

Almost 30 years ago Khleif (1966) acknowledged that the public school was becoming the major socializing agency in the American culture. His prophetic advice at that time to counselors and educational faculty was to retool for the

emergent client and be responsive to the local and national community as well. He asserted that the "new trend in counseling theory seems to be a combination of directiveness and nondirectiveness: what is emphasized is the strengths and abilities of the client and his cognitive activities with regard to choice and decision" (p. 190). The preventive, psychoeducational, counseling model incorporated in the research study under discussion is supported by innovative research that has used an assertiveness training paradigm, (e.g., Horan & Williams, 1982; Williams, Hadden, & Marcavage, 1983), a cognitive-behavioral approach, (e.g., Barrow, 1986), and a developmental educational model, (e.g., Botvin, 1983). The common denominators of the research cited were threefold; counselor interventions were school-based, they were short-term, and the methodologies included both didactic and experiential components.

The developmental processes of identity formation may be interrupted by an adolescent's chemical abuse or addiction. Numerous school-based programs have been developed and implemented to prevent these behaviors. A literature review of available research conducted in the 1980s in the field of adolescent drug abuse prevention led Norman and Turner (1993) to conclude that the most effective prevention programs included those strategies that focused on developmental issues of adolescence, enhanced communication and resistance skills, changed adolescents'

expectations about substance abuse, and fostered resiliency skills.

A study that empirically assessed the effect of a short-term (10 session) assertiveness training program on nonassertive junior high school children (n = 72) met the methodological criteria suggested by Norman and Turner (1993). A treatment group in which one-third of the training stimuli involved learning how to deal with peer pressure to use drugs was compared to an equivalent placebo group which had a discussion format but no treatment and a no treatment control condition. The students who received the assertion training demonstrated greater assertive competence after treatment and on a 3 year follow-up, those gains endured. Additionally, the experimental group reported significantly less actual drug use at the time of the 3 year follow-up. The results of this study provided empirical support for the efficacy of a short-term and developmentally-based preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention (Horan & Williams, 1982).

In addition to the assertiveness training model, Barrows (1986) found that cognitive-behavioral interventions were effective in increasing self-confidence in college students through application of a 5 session structured group experience. Experiential activities included active listening and a planning exercise designed to assist group members in transferring skills learned. Cognitive-

behavioral theory has influenced other school-based interventions that have been developed to help adolescents effectively make decisions and increase their psychological skills in the areas of interpersonal problem-solving, (e.g., Miller, 1982; Rathjen & Foreyt, 1980) and conflict resolution (e.g., Roderick, 1988).

School-based preventive, psychoeducational, counseling interventions have not been subjected to rigorous empirically-based outcome measures such as the assertion training study conducted by Horan and Williams (1982). Pruitt (1993) points out that measurements of effectiveness are inconsistent and may vary from program to program. Meta-analysis is advocated in order to address the overall effectiveness of preventive, psychoeducational school-based programs.

Approaches suggested for interventions with immigrant children (e.g., Esquivel, Kopala, & Baptiste, 1991) require more consistent implementation before a comprehensive meta-analysis can occur. Research suggests (e.g., Horan & Williams, 1982) that cognitive behavioral and psychological skills-based programs can enhance development in adolescence.

School Role and Ethnic Identity

Specific recommendations for interventions that would assist in the transition from the educational experience a Haitian child came from to the new one in the host country

include such strategies as appropriate and accurate educational assessment of Haitian students, establishment of a solid parent bridge that provides information about the school's expectations as well as support for their parenting needs, and education of school staff about Haitian culture and the sociopolitical challenges they are currently encountering (Giles, 1990; Racine, 1981).

The public school system is identified as the social agency that must take the lead in providing support services to immigrant children because they are less likely to use traditional mental health services (Esquivel, Kopala, & Baptiste, 1991; Olsen & Dowell, 1989). For adolescents, the acculturation process is exacerbated by the process of identity formation which includes the important component of ethnic identity (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993). Development of a secure ethnic identity, a psychological place from which to obtain meaning and direction in life (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990), must be moderated within a context of social interaction. The public school is such an arena. This study examines the implementation of a counselor intervention designed specifically to enhance the development of ethnic identity in Haitian adolescents. Empirically based strategies that are effective in helping Haitian students in their developmental transition is a much needed next step in the research and practice regarding minority adolescents.

Immigration

The United States has traditionally declared a compassionate approach to foreigners who have been categorized as displaced persons, emergency migrants, or refugees. One of the country's founding principles has been the offer of freedom and opportunity as symbolized by the Statue of Liberty with its implicit promise of asylum (Dunlap, 1993). Currently, there are three categories that apply to the plight of the Haitians. Asylum refers to the status extended to those individuals already within the country at the time they apply for refugee protection. Refugees are defined as those persons outside of their country of origin, but not yet in the United States who have a realistic fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a social group. Those persons temporarily accepted on the basis of medical or legal factors, parolees, comprise the third legal type of entry that is called humanitarian immigration (Dunlap, 1993).

Lawless (1986) accuses United States government policies and practices regarding Haitian immigrants as being characterized by racist ideology. An even more powerful indictment is levied by Loescher and Scanlan (1986) when they state that "the virulence of the government's campaign" against Haitian asylum seekers is unmatched" (p. 209). The human in humanitarian for the Haitian newcomer is often

nonexistent and reflective of a complex ambivalence that has its origins in the evolving social values that are manifested throughout the nation's history. A definition of what it means to be an American is only relevant within the tapestry of historical and emerging immigration forces, the forces of change.

The Great Migrations to America

The first great migration occurred in the mid-19th century and reached its highest point in the early 1880s when 800,000 Europeans arrived in one year. Muller and Epenshade (1985) indicate that the greatest proportion coming from Germany, England, Scandinavia, and Ireland were ethnically similar to those who preceded them in terms of language (predominately English speaking), and possessing common cultural and social values. A debate ensued concerning the burgeoning dilemma of the increase in newcomers, and as early as 1882, Congress was called upon to restrict and exclude from citizenship the Chinese and Japanese who had been brought into California as contract laborers to build the railroads.

The second great migration wave between 1900 and 1920 was lead by newcomers who spoke no English, were primarily Catholic, and had been rural dwellers. Dominated by the countries of Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Russia, people continued to arrive from England, Germany, Ireland, France, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. Weisberger (1994) suggested

that the massive Congressional report commissioned by President Theodore Roosevelt to study the "problem" emerged upon completion four years later as a doctrine replete with racist indictments comparing the "new " immigrants with the "old" and served as a foundation for further restrictionist sentiment which was expressed through revival of the Ku Klux Klan in 1915 and the "hysterical drive for 100% Americanism during World War I and the Red scare immediately afterward" (p. 88).

The third great migration and the largest, began in the late 1960s and is continuing into the 90s (Carrera, 1989; Lew, 1991). The most recent immigrants are primarily from Mexico, Asia, Central and South America, and the Caribbean (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988). The Immigration Act of 1965 established new quotas that targeted (a) reuniting families, (b) opening the doors to refugees, and (c) attracting skill and talent. Lew (1991) holds that this legislative enactment is a primary factor in the shaping of this wave because it set limits on the influx of immigration. The Vietnamese War produced a flood of refugees for whom the United States maintained a unique responsibility and the worldwide issue of who should shoulder the burdens of admission from war torn and poverty ridden nations posed political and policy questions that were tentatively answered by the Refugee Act of 1980. A refugee was clearly defined as a person who could not return

to their home because of a well founded fear of persecution on the basis of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion.

Haitian Immigration

The Haitian influx which numbered between 30,000 to 50,000 between 1972 through 1980 was unprecedented and the United States considered them to be economic migrants despite human rights reports by the Department of State informing the Carter administration of the brutality bordering on torture that was employed by the Duvalier regime. Loescher and Scanlan (1986) contended that ideological discrimination framed the response of the Carter administration in that the close political relationship between the United States government and the Duvalier regime centering on their shared anti-Communist objectives, made it virtually impossible for any Haitian on an individual basis to declare fear of retribution upon return to Haiti. The cold war ideology prevailed. Despite Congressional hearings that Haitians were systematically denied hearings by immigration officials, given rulings and advisory opinions from Haitian desk officers based on assumptions that all claims were invalid, and no monitor of returnees, Haitians entering the United States were denied refuge from the tyranny of Duvalier.

Stepick's (1984) review of the impact of the United States' immigration polices during the Duvaliers' successive

reigns revealed consistent denial of refugee status for Haitians. The seminal question Stepick posed in 1984, "Will foreign policy and covert racist concerns continue to predominate U.S. asylum policy, or will broad humanitarian concerns overcome the recent historical tradition?" (p. 196), appears to have been answered in 1994 with the continuation of an interdiction policy; a policy that ousted President Aristide compares to "forcing people back inside of a burning house" (Pugh, 1994).

The immigration issue is germane to this research. If (a) the existence of stereotyping or discrimination towards themselves and their group, and (b) the existence of different sets of norms and values between the dominant cultures and their own are the two central conflicts to be mediated for ethnic identity achievement as suggested by Phinney (1990), then immigration policies that directly impact Haitian immigrants and their families is a source of stress that represents a mental health risk factor.

Seeking political support for legislation that would provide for a fair and United States based asylum review (Haitian Refugee Fairness Act of 1994), U.S. Representative Carrie Meeks wrote a letter on March 24, 1994 to her colleagues stating that:

> Our policy of interdiction at sea and forced repatriation has been likened to a floating Berlin wall. It does not allow Haitians the opportunity to

> claim political asylum, and consequently, provides no opportunity for adequate review of their situation. The indiscriminate forced repatriation of Haitians is deplorable and unprecedented in our history. (Meeks, 1994)

Both Carrie Meeks and the Congressional Black Caucus leader Representative Major Owens concur that a military invasion that would reinstall Aristide and his cabinet would end what Meeks described as a diplomatic farce between Washington and Port-au-Prince (Marquis & Benesch, 1994). The country of Haiti appears to be locked in what Constable (1994) terms a "repressive grip of the military and its rightist allies" (p. 108).

Constable (1994) delineates specific factors that inhibit the prognosis for Haiti's liberation from decades of oppression and poverty. These factors are: (a) a combination of vicious politics including a disregard for international opinion demonstrated by Haiti's upper-class (e.g., Cedras's violation of the Governor's Island Accord); (b) corruption and brutality as evidenced by the military and police force (e.g., transshipment of South American cocaine); (c) ruthless and inhumane practices based on fear of reprisals by the masses after years of oppression (e.g., murder and rape of Aristide's followers); and (d) an enduring ambivalence demonstrated by United States officials in deference to world opinion about helping a third world

country (e.g., Clinton's broken campaign promises regarding the policy of interdiction). The initiatives advocated by the Black Caucus may be inhibited by the reality of the following perspective: "Haiti's hopes for rescue from years of poverty and oppression, briefly buoyed by the election of a charismatic hero, have probably been dashed by the combination of vicious politics in a deeply polarized nation, international miscalculation of Haitian realities, reluctance by foreign democracies to interfere in a third world controversy, and conflicting policy agendas and ideological views among American officials" (Constable, 1994, p. 108).

In the words of former legal director of the civilian observer mission sent to Haiti by the United Nations and Organization of American States, William O'Neill, "The real impetus behind the policy, frankly, is to keep people out of Florida" (Marquis & Benesch, 1994, p. 1). The in-country processing program (ICP) has been indicted as a charade by the Justice Department lawyers sent on two month stints to monitor the consistency, fairness, due process, and legal integrity of the program.

Several problems are inherent to this program which has resulted in approval of 2,727 asylum petitions in April 1994 from a pool of 55,000 petitions filed since February, 1992. Of the 3,500 slots allocated in 1993 for all of Latin

America and the Caribbean, the limit was toppled with 2,814 slots filled by Cubans, and 1,307 by Haitians.

In addition to the absence of slots, the INS officers suggested that there were several other problems such as: (a) the close proximity of military or army headquarters in two of the three areas that applicants can report has led to instances of arrest immediately after petitioning; (b) denials can happen immediately, approvals must go through further processing and most petitions are denied; (c) staffers have a bias and believe that "everybody wants a meal ticket" (Marquis & Benesch, 1994, p. 16); (d) they deny the human rights issue and minimize the rampant acts of violence and terrorization; (e) they are not usually proficient in Creole or French which creates a tremendous barrier for frightened applicants; and (f) they are unaware and not knowledgeable about the activities and lifestyles outside the radius of their work site and hotel.

For immigrants who settled in the first and second wave of migration, the experiences described above are remote concerns. Healthy pride in their culture and historical accomplishments is evidenced by New York Haitians, the earliest emigres and the largest group of Haitians outside of Haiti. Additionally, Lawless (1986) observed a vitality and self-esteem not evident in other ethnic groups. Yet, the impact of immigration policy appears to directly complicate the healthy and normative development of those

Haitian adolescents in Miami who are affected by a policy that slams the door on hope for a safe and purposeful life. The mizik rasin or roots music which originated with the Maroons, slaves who had fled the barbaric treatment of the slave owners, is seeped in voodoo, a common language that united the Maroons who came from different parts of the island.

The emergent roots music is an effort to claim Haitian heritage according to ethnomusicologist Gerdes Fleurant. Boukman Esperyans, a leading mizik rasin band, incorporates lyrics that are stories and parables of community life and values. Named after an 18th century voodoo priest, the band symbolizes an effort to seek ethnic identity and human dignity. Lead singer and songwriter, Theodore Beaubrun Jr., states that he doesn't advise that people to become voodoo practitioners, but "I ask you to accept your culture, who we are. It's really important. We can't go forward with an inferiority complex" (Gonzalez, 1994, p. 61).

Beaubrun's sentiments are suggestive of an urgent call for counselor intervention that is responsive to the needs of the adolescents who are increasingly required to deal with stressors that affect a myriad of life events. This study, the extent to which a psychoeducational preventive counselor intervention affects the ethnic identity development of Haitian adolescents in Miami, is an effort to

expand the topical and much needed knowledge base so that effective counseling intervention can be applied.

Acculturation

The wave theory of migration (Stein, 1981) is especially applicable to the Haitian immigrants currently entering Miami. The wave theory suggests that the economically elite, upper level military, and the well educated usually constitute a first wave of migration followed by a second wave of middle-class, less educated merchants, lower level military, and family members seeking unification with those who preceded them. Grenier and Stepick (1992) pointed out that the majority of those Haitians arriving currently in Miami and seeking asylum are members of the third wave. National Coalition of Advocates for Students (1988) suggested that the third wave is composed of those immigrants who have the least education, the lowest literacy rates in their own language as well as English, are usually poor, and inhabitants of rural areas. Stepick and Portes (1986) stated that the more recently arrived Haitian immigrant is the least prepared for life in the United States, particularly the educational and social milieus.

The theory that endeavors to understand the adjustment of minority groups to the culture of the dominant group, acculturation theory (Matute-Bianchi, 1991), is important to counseling because it provides a framework for understanding

the psychological stresses of immigrant populations. This stress is specific to the acculturation process and refers to mental health problems, deviance, and social disintegration that may occur as a result of the acculturation process depending upon a myriad of moderating variables (Berry & Kim, 1988). These influential variables include education and income, age, years of residence in the United States, ethnic density of the neighborhood, country of birth, job skills, religion, and purpose of immigration (Sodowsky, Lai, & Plake, 1991).

Berry (1985) defined acculturation as those variations which occur due to continuous contact with another culture resulting in sociocultural (group level) and behavioral (individual level) changes. The ideal resolution is biculturality wherein the individual embraces aspects of the host culture as well as the culture of origin. Golden's (1988) review of research related to acculturation points to the need for the retention of one's ethnic heritage in order to facilitate and enhance adaptation to the host culture. Padilla (1980, 1993) and other researchers (e.g., Kim, 1981; Szapocznik, Cohen, & Hernandez, 1985) suggest that empirical evidence supports the notion that maintaining the ethnic traditions and values of the country of origin in addition to including aspects of the host culture's traditions and values contributes to the promotion of mental health in immigrant populations.

The intergenerational dilemma identified above by Page (1994) is a function of the attempt of the acculturating adolescent to confront the developmental crisis of identity within a social context that becomes increasingly more influential with the onset of the teen years. For Haitian adolescents in Miami, the social identification with a group that is disparaged is extremely difficult to contend with yet reconciliation is central to the development of an achieved identity as conceptualized by Phinney (1990). She maintains that minority adolescents are in need of an opportunity to explore their feelings and beliefs about their ethnicity because navigating through this developmental morass will result in better adjustment, high self-esteem, and solid psychological adjustment.

Summary

Developing multiculturally skilled counselors has been recognized as essential to the generic training of the counselor regardless of the dominant or professed theoretical orientation of the trainee (Katz, 1985). An increasingly global world calls for counselor expertise relevant to the experiences of ethnic groups (Styles-O'Neal, 1982; Sue & Padilla, 1986). The literature reviewed clearly suggests the need for culturally competent counselor interventions that can identify and meet the needs of this new wave of Haitian immigrants.

The sociocultural, historical, and psychological factors specific to Haitian adolescents on the development of ethnic identity development has been neglected in the counseling literature. The social and organizational systems through which behavior is expressed comprise the counselor's interpretive domain. The study of how ethnic identity development is affected by the controlled application of a psychoeducational preventive counseling intervention, incorporates Pedersen's (1988) four imperatives. The literature review examining psychological concepts and historical, political, and sociocultural factors provides compelling evidence for the relevance of the need to advance theoretical and conceptual ideas about the blending of mental health and culture.

Research efforts are essential to understand, interpret, and predict what will happen in our increasingly global world, and the contextual framework provides a culturally-based perspective for within group study (Klineberg, 1987). Educational criteria that will help counselors effectively develop expertise in cross-cultural counseling has been suggested and addressed in the developmental analysis of identity and ethnic identity theory as it applies to adolescents. Research regarding school-based preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention has been explored with regard to psychosocial skill development. Lastly, Pedersen's imperative to

revolutionize the current mode of minority service delivery is attended to by the application of an innovative psychoeducational intervention which will be delineated in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER III

Research Methodology

The critical need for minority counseling research that is both relevant, responsive, and intraculturally based provided the motivation for this study. The focus of most multicultural research has been on adults, particularly college and graduate students with limited generalizability to the community (Ponterotto & Casas, 1991). The present study was designed to empirically determine if application of a preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention affects the normative ethnic identity development process of Haitian adolescents across gender, dominant language spoken in the home, and the length of time the subjects have resided in the United States. Conceptually and culturally based, the domain of ethnic identity development was explored in an effort to contribute to the limited extant counseling base, and to more accurately tell the story of contemporary Haitian adolescent newcomers.

The study was conducted in a Southeastern urban high school which is attended by more than 2,800 students representing 79 different nations. More than one-half of the student body was foreign-born and 27 different languages were spoken. Although the majority of students were Hispanic (58%), there were substantial numbers of Anglo, Caribbean, and African-American populations represented

(National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1994). Although there are only 312 students identified as Haitian through school records, many more Haitians may be in attendance as evidenced by the substantial numbers of students who spoke Creole and identified their culture through less threatening avenues such as peer groups or supportive counselors and teachers.

Sample

A random sample of one hundred and twenty Haitian students was generated from a population pool of 312 students listed as currently enrolled and having the self-identification or parental identification of Haitian. The computerized software program Alpha Four was used to randomly select 120 students. The researcher predetermined numbers of people who should be in each group and from the randomly selected list, alternately assigned the randomized subject case numbers to one of three conditions.

Of the original 120 students selected, only 105 students completed usable questionnaires. Eight students did not have parental consent to participate in the study and seven students could not participate for various other reasons (e.g., car accident, transfer to another school). Thus, 105 subjects were included in this study.

Subjects ranged in age from 14 to 20 years with a mean of 16.6 years. Gender was almost equally divided between

male (n = 52) and female (n = 53). In order of frequency, the grade levels for all subjects were: 11th grade (n = 37); 12th grade (n = 31); 10th grade (n = 19); and 9th grade (n = 18). More than one-half (57.4%) of the subjects reported that their parents were either unemployed, working in factories, or employed as housecleaners. Creole was the primary language spoken in the homes of 74 of the participants. Most of the subjects resided with both parents (51.9%), followed by a large proportion (37.5%) who reported that they lived with a single mother.

Design

The Pretest-Posttest Control Group Design (Campbell & Stanley, 1963) was selected because it is one true form of experimental design that controls for most factors that would threaten both internal and external validity (p. 8). In order to address the potential for interactive effects of the pretest, a second control group was incorporated in the design (Kerlinger, 1986, p. 313). A 3 x 2 Analysis of Variance with repeated measures procedure (group by pretest and posttest) assessed the differences between groups on ethnic identity development levels. Table 3 depicts the ANOVA that was applied.

Research Procedures

The experimental study began in the second half of the 1993-94 school year and continued until the third quarter.

The researcher explained the parameters of the study to each of the randomly identified subjects individually and distributed a Parent Permission Form (see Appendix A). This

Table 3

3 X 2 ANOVA Repeated Measures, 1 Within, 1 Between

		TIME	
		PRETEST MEIM	POSTTEST MEIM
GROUP	C1		
	C2		
	E		

form was designed for compliance with the protocol required for informed parental consent by the local county public school's Research Review Committee.

Face to face data gathering was initiated upon return of the document granting permission for participation in the study. The researcher administered the Pretest MEIM and the Background Survey to the 105 subjects who had been randomly selected and assigned to one of three conditions. Control and experimental groups were initiated upon completion of the pretest procedure.

An experimental intervention group was compared to two control conditions. Group C1 consisted of those subjects who received 14 hours of counselor contact without application of the treatment modality. This group was facilitated by the researcher as a comparison group that controlled for the Hawthorne and Rosenthal effects. The

Hawthorne effect describes a tendency for respondents in behavioral research to alter their behaviors or responses because they are aware that they are being studied and is considered a potential threat to behavioral research (Balian, 1982). The Rosenthal, or experimenter's effect, refers to the nonverbal or verbal experimenter behaviors that might influence or modify subject's responses (Huck, Cormier, & Bounds, 1974). The addition of this placebo group, as well as the research investigator's inclusion of additional experimenters as facilitators of the treatment groups, were two techniques employed to decrease the threat of internal and external validity. Group C1 (n = 20) used a discussion format only, that was unstructured except for presentation of a weekly topic. The placebo group (C1) was conducted by the researcher. These topics included current events, movie critiques, careers, stress management, values, teenage music, and peer pressure.

Group C2 (n = 53) was comprised of the subjects who received pretesting and posttesting only and did not participate in a small group experience, as did the C1 subjects and the E groups. The pretesting of C2 was administered before the implementation of all treatment and placebo groups, and the posttesting was administered upon completion of the 14 hour group sessions, which were conducted once a week over a period of 7 weeks. The length

of time for all groups was an equivalent 120 minutes per weekly session.

As illustrated in Table 4, group E contained those subjects who participated in the experimental component: a preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention entitled, Self in Context, (Appendix B).

Table 4

Characteristics of Research Groups

	C1	C2	E
Number of subjects within groups	n = 20	n = 53	n = 32
Counselor contact	no treatment in group	restricted to pretesting and posttesting	with treatment in group
Duration	7 weeks		7 weeks
Time	14 hours		14 hours
Instrumentation	MEIM Background Survey	MEIM Background Survey	MEIM Background Survey

N = 105

Experimental Intervention

The preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention was guided by Phinney, Lochner, and Murphy's (1985) thesis that "a commitment to an ethnic identity is an important component of the self-concept of minority youth and a fact that mediates the relation between minority status and adjustment" (p. 54). Immigration experiences of the adolescent and their family members exacerbate the two crucial developmental issues faced by all adolescents. The

two most fundamental conflicts that minority adolescents face are: (a) the existence of prejudice, stereotypes, or ignorance demonstrated towards them individually and as a group; and (b) the presence of values and norms of the dominant culture that differ from those that exist in the culture of origin. Further, the dynamics of the acculturative process compounds the already complex developmental challenges faced by all adolescents.

The preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention, Self in Context, was conducted in part by two Haitian females and one Haitian male experimenter. Two of the experimenters had extensive teaching backgrounds and were enrolled in a graduate clinical psychology program. The other experimenter had specific expertise in mediating Haitian family conflict and was employed as a counselor. The treatment was predominately conducted in Creole with opening and closing activities facilitated in English by this researcher and accompanied by Creole translation.

Theoretical Basis

The theoretical framework that guided the development of the experimental innovation, Self in Context, was based on research in three areas: (a) mental health primary prevention theory, (b) acculturation literature, and (c) multicultural counseling tenets. The following includes an identification of the theoretical models incorporated and

some examples of how they were operationalized through the preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention.

Conceptual support for the primary prevention group model was provided by Conyne (1987). His proactive, group oriented, and empowerment model underscored the basic goal of this intervention which was, in essence, to provide a milieu and strategies for the enhancement of ethnic identity. Other theorists point to the relevancy of the group format as an appropriate setting for personal change (Levine, 1979; Yalom, 1975). Additionally, validation for a move from the traditional counseling role of psychotherapist to the role of advocate, educator, and counselor is a mandatory notion proposed by Casas (1987), and a central concept under girding the flexible and responsive roles adapted by the trainers in this intervention.

Experimental Group Content

Each session was structured to begin with a group activity designed to build group cohesiveness and community (bounder breaker). The boundary breaker was followed by a content strategy and closure was conducted through facilitation of a verbal sentence completion activity that elicited feedback about individual participant's experiences regarding the specific session.

The group content was divided into three conceptual domains. The first area of concentration, cultural awareness, focused on the history, religion, education,

music, and current sociopolitical factors that were currently affecting Haiti. Multicultural researchers (e.g., Phinney, 1990; Ponterotto & Casas, 1991; Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993; Sue, 1981) concur that learning about the history and culture of their specific ethnic group as identified through self-identification, is essential to the development of ethnic identity.

The methodology included a presentation and discussion of Haitian history and culture which was based on Steenbarger's (1993) recognition that preventive, short-term, and developmentally-based counseling approaches can effectively incorporate multicultural counseling assumptions. The first and second content sessions focused on the validation of the participants' world views through discussion about Haiti and their perspectives regarding sociocultural occurrences. This portion of the sessions was conducted in Creole because past research (e.g., Pedersen, 1987; Sue, 1990) suggested that the therapeutic method of matching counselor and client with similar language and communication styles is a primary intervention strategy.

Another example of the methodology used in the cultural awareness domain was the Family Mapping strategy (Castex, 1993). Maps of Haiti were used to depict subject's place of birth, parent's place of birth, area in which subjects had attended school, or visited relatives, which stimulated discussion about how students felt about having been

uprooted, their perceptions out Haiti, their families, and comparisons about their lives then and now (Appendix B, Self in Context, session 1, 2).

The second content area focused on interpersonal problem solving. This domain was developed in accordance with the recommendations made by acculturation researchers (e.g.. Arredondo-Dowd, 1981; Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1983) who contend that problem identification and problem resolution within a cultural context is essential to the development of the immigrant child. An example of a strategy that addressed this domain was the Problems and Challenges strategy utilized in the Self in Context intervention. In this activity participants identified problems and addressed them through psychodrama and role play enactments. This strategy was based on past research that suggested (e.g., Bandura, 1977; Goldstein, 1981; McGregor, 1993) the efficacy of a social learning approach in which adolescents pose both problems and solutions and explore new behaviors through experientially based techniques within the group milieu.

The interpersonal problem-solving domain also addressed the intergenerational clashes that often occur when the immigrant adolescent adopts values and beliefs that are antithetical to those espoused by the culture of origin (Esquivel, Kopala, & Baptiste, 1991). Baumrind's (1978) typology was used to explore the authoritarian parenting

style most typical of Haitian parents. This method was appropriate in view of Marcia's (1980) research regarding identity statuses. He found that adolescents with authoritarian parents are the most likely to adopt a foreclosed identity which is the equivalent of Phinney's stage 1 of ethnic identity development. Exploration of family relationships within the context of Baumrind's typology facilitated discussion of intracultural similarities and differences and problem-solving methods within a supportive framework.

Phinney, Lochner, and Murphy (1990) emphasized the need for minority adolescents to have the opportunity to confront and deal with stereotyping and discrimination. Session 5 content strategy focused exclusively on the issue of stereotyping. The methodology was comprised of the following steps:

1. A common definition was determined through a group brainstorming procedure.

2. Participants were asked to describe stereotyping that they have personally observed in school, at work, at home, on television, or in books.

3. Group discussion responded to the question regarding the effect of stereotyping on an individual's self-esteem, a group of friends, an age group, an ethnic group (Arce, 1981; Banks, 1992; Sleeter & Grant, 1988).

4. The large group was divided into triads and members were instructed to designate a reporter, recorder, and a time-keeper.

5. Each triad was asked to list the stereotypic roles depicted in a specific television program or movie on newsprint (B'nai B'rith, 1992).

6. After each triad reported, additional exploration was facilitated by the experimenter in order to prevent internalization of negative stereotypes (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). (Appendix B, Self in Context, session 3, 4, 5).

The third domain, conflict resolution, has been increasingly identified as an effective approach for communication skill development (Arnette, 1994; White, 1994). This process provides adolescents with the knowledge, awareness and skills to solve their interpersonal conflicts peacefully through discussion. Conflict resolution has been referred to as an empowerment model that has its philosophical roots in the concept of peers helping peers (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1993; National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1994). A strategy employed in this domain, the Hassle Line (Schmidt, Friedman, & Marvel, 1992), an experiential activity designed to explore nonverbal and verbal behaviors that tend to escalate or de-escalate conflicts, illustrated the factors involved in conflict

resolution. Other strategies focused on conflict resolution skills intended to promote a bicultural model of adjustment.

The Rules for Fighting Fair model and the I Statement were employed on two content strategies (Schmidt, Friedman, & Marvel, 1992). The Rules for Fighting Fair are clear and concrete rules that provide a structured framework for dealing with conflict. This model was presented as a framework for the development of effective communication skills and was chosen for this psychoeducational, preventive, counseling intervention because research has indicated that this model has been found to be effective in changing both student attitudes and behaviors in conflict situations (Marvel, Moreda, & Cook, 1993). Participants developed simulations from their life experiences and practiced the I Statement communication skill through behavioral rehearsal (Goldstein, 1981; Guerney, Stollak, & Guerney, 1971). Simulations included situations in which participants were responding to conflict, expressing a complaint, asking for help, and expressing anxiety.

The methodology in session 7 included a continuation of the conflict resolution domain with specific attention to the prevention of ineffective or problem behaviors as a response to anger. Participants were asked to identify verbal and nonverbal behaviors, review cognitive strategies for coping with anger, explore with another participant their usual coping patterns, and develop a personal anger

management plan. These methods were designed in accordance with recommendations from researchers and practitioners who are concerned with the well-documented upsurge in adolescent violent behavior and suggest that conflict resolution skills are essential to the development of a healthy bicultural identity (e.g., Mugny, 1984; Prothrow-Stith, 1987; Strauss & Gelles, 1988; National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988, 1944). (see Appendix B, session 6, 7).

Research Instrumentation

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) was selected to assess ethnic identity (see Appendix C). Ethnic identity development in adolescents has received little empirical scrutiny, and the extensive work of Phinney (1990) is the only conceptual model and research measure advocated by multicultural researchers Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993). In addition, a Background Survey specifically designed for this study gathered demographic data and open-ended questions that would help explain ethnic identity development in this sample of Haitian adolescents.

Several psychometric instruments were reviewed. Most of the instruments that purported to measure ethnic identity were race or culture specific. The White Racial Identity Attitude Inventory (Carter & Helms, 1990) was designed for use with White college students. The Ethnic Identity Questionnaire focused on Japanese Americans (Masuda, Matsumoto, & Meredith, 1970). The Racial Identity Attitude

Scale was designed for use with Black college students (Parham & Helms, 1985). Other instruments focused on ethnic identity development in young children (e.g., Aboud, 1977; Katz, 1976).

Multigroup Measure of Ethnic Identity

The MEIM consists of 14 items that assess three dimensions of ethnic identity. The three subscales are affirmation and belonging (5 items), ethnic identity achievement (7 items), and ethnic behaviors (2 items). They are rated on a four point scale that ranges from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

The following are sample items from the three components measured by the MEIM. Ethnic attitudes towards own ethnic group are assessed by items such as item 14 which states, "I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments." Ethnic identity achievement is measured by questions including item 1 which states "I have spent time trying to find out about my own ethnic group." A sample item designed to assess ethnic behaviors is item 16, "I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

The scores range from 1 to 2 which implies the subject is functioning at the lowest level of ethnic identity development (diffusion or foreclosure), 2 to 3, which is considered to be the search and moratorium stage, and 3 to 4, which is indicative of an achieved ethnic identity or

development of a healthy bicultural identity. A low score suggests that the subject has not initiated a developmental search or exploration of that aspect of psychological development under consideration, ethnic identity. A higher score (2-3) on the continuum demonstrates a move to exploration and search without complete resolution or achievement which is indicated by scores at the top of the continuum.

An additional six items assess the individual's attitude and orientation towards other ethnic groups. Phinney (1992) contends that values and orientations differ conceptually from the construct of ethnic identity, but may interact with it as an aspect of social identity within the greater systemic societal context. For example, questions such as item 4 concerns the extent to which an individual enjoys being with people outside the culture of origin, relates to the relationship between individual psychological development and the social sphere of influence. Although this is an important variable, it is not investigated in this study because an individual's attitude toward other groups is distinct from the construct of ethnic identity which is the focus of this study.

Background Survey

A Background Survey (Appendix D) was constructed to ascertain demographic and other descriptive variables. Items included personal and familial characteristics

including age, the dominant language spoken in the home, and length of time the subjects have resided in the United States.

Open-ended items sought information about family relationships, career goals, problem identification, and areas of life satisfaction. These items were designed by the researcher in order to better understand possible factors that may have an influence on the process of ethnic identity development in this sample of Haitian adolescents.

Instrument Construction of the MEIM

Instrument construction of the MEIM followed a five year period of development beginning with a measure to assess ethnic identity search and commitment which was administered by Phinney and Ambarsoom, cited in Phinney (1992) on a trial basis with 60 college undergraduates. After revision the scale was given to 196 college students who represented Asian-American, Black, and Mexican-American ethnic groups with a comparison White group. Phinney and Alipuria (1990) calculated Cronbach's alpha in order to assess reliability on ethnic identity search and commitment scores and reported the reliabilities as .69 and .59, respectively (Phinney, 1992). While these scores are lower than might be expected for this type of instrument development, they are in a positive direction.

The scale was revised again based on item analysis and administered to Hispanic and White undergraduates by Lochner

and Phinney (1988). Reliability coefficients for ethnic identity exploration were .80 and .66 for ethnic identity commitment. Additionally, Phinney and Tarver (1988) conducted interviews with adolescents to learn about concerns they had regarding ethnicity and the way in which young people spontaneously and verbally communicated. This information together with Phinney's extensive review of empirical research about ethnic identity provided the impetus for further revision which included item additions designed to assess ethnic behaviors and ethnic attitudes.

Validity

Past research and theory suggest a relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity (Martinez & Dukes, 1987). Phinney and her colleagues have reported statistically significant relationships between ethnic identity and both self-concept (Phinney, 1989) and self-esteem. Self-concept was measured in Phinney's (1989) study by the Bronstein-Cruz Child/adolescent Self-Concept and Adjustment Scale (cited in Phinney & Chavira , 1992). The Rosenberg Self-esteem Inventory was used to measure self-esteem in the following studies: Chavira and Phinney (1991); Phinney and Alipuria (1990); Phinney and Chavira (1992).

Although the MEIM is a relatively new instrument, Phinney's conceptual model is an integration and extension of more fully researched culturally based and such race specific models as Cross (1991) who focused on African-

Americans; Japanese-Americans as investigated by Kim (1981); and the empirical investigation of Mexican-American students conducted by Arce (1981). These models are adult models and Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) contend that Phinney and her colleagues have provided "a secure bridge linking ethnic identity development to more general models of adolescent identity development" (p. 42). The instrument was selected because of the review and recognition afforded by these leading multicultural counseling researchers. They recommend the MEIM for research that is both developmentally based and specifically applicable to adolescents.

The impact of ethnicity on development can no longer be ignored in a rapidly changing world (Pedersen, 1985, 1988). Adult and child models of ethnic identity acquisition have ignored the dynamic period of adolescence in empirical review. There remains a gaping void in the empirical validation of instrumentation that is appropriate for adolescents and does not parallel adult research. In recognition of the critical need for measurement which incorporated a consistent definition of ethnic identity development, Rosenthal (1987) stated that "there is no concern with the components of ethnic identity nor how or why the development of ethnic identity occurs" (p. 162). The MEIM addresses this important area yet further validation is called for. A computerized search of the literature revealed that the MEIM has been used in several

recent doctoral dissertations. These studies (e.g., Birnbaum, 1992; Tan, 1992; Taub, 1993) are indicative of the increasing scholarly attention being paid to issues of adolescent ethnic identity development and would seem to support the validity of the MEIM as a measure of ethnic identity development.

Factor analysis of the MEIM by Phinney (1992) provided moderate empirical support for the conceptual notion that ethnic identity is composed of a single factor with three interrelated components. This was modestly supported in a comparison of two scales: the Personal Identity Inventory (PII) and the MEIM. In Birnbaum's (1992) study, data from 312 undergraduate students at two large Northeastern Universities were collected and factor analyzed. Statistically significant differences between ethnic groups closely mirrored Phinney's findings with a smaller sample of California college students reporting on the MEIM. Whites scored the lowest followed by Hispanics, Asians, with Blacks scoring the highest. This study replicated the reported high reliability of the MEIM (Cronbach's alpha = .92). Differences between the two scales were examined and a significant correlation (r = .33) was obtained between total scores of the two instruments. This comparison of the two scales provided additional validation of the MEIM and preliminary support for the exploratory development of the comparison instrument (PII) (Birnbaum, 1992). Findings

provided initial evidence of construct and concurrent validity between instruments.

The impact of ethnic identity on psychological adjustment and problem behavior was investigated in a college sample of 269 students who were attending two Northeastern colleges. They were studied to determine the relationship between their level of ethnic identity development as measured by the MEIM, their susceptibility to problem behaviors as measured by the Adolescent Problem Behavior Inventory (APBI), and the Offer Self-Image Questionnaire (OSIQ) was used to measure self-image. An inverse relationship was found between the level of ethnic identity and several problem behaviors which led the researcher to conclude that the higher the level of ethnic identity, the lower the level of problem behavior specifically in the areas of alcohol use, cigarette smoking, school problems, and sexual precocity. Marijuana use and delinquent behaviors were not found to be correlated with ethnic identity (Dalit, 1992). This study appears to provide support for ethnic identity as a salient factor in the identity formation process which is a conceptual notion operationalized in the MEIM.

The only study that focused on a specific immigrant population investigated a sample of 8 Jamaican adolescents who had immigrated to Canada (Tan, 1992). The negative event of finding themselves to be minorities for the first

time led to exploration of their ethnic identity. These subjects were found to have very strong ethnic identities as measured by the MEIM.

Several studies have used the MEIM to investigate ethnic identity development as a variable that interacts with other human behavior variables such as interpersonal relationships, personal attachment, and self-esteem. A recent study that investigated ethnic identity development as a correlate to the development of autonomy in a college sample of 325 women (Taub, 1993) applied the MEIM, and found significant differences across race. Utilizing Marcia's identity status paradigm, a research sample of 169 African-American college students attending a predominately White college participated in an investigation of the effects of self-esteem, ethnic identity development, and family environment on identity achievement (Turner, 1991). The results demonstrated the contribution of ethnic identity development to the ego formation of African-Americans in this sample. In conclusion, the MEIM is a new instrument that is in the process of undergoing continued validation and testing.

Reliability

In a study of 136 ethnically diverse college students and 417 high school participants, the MEIM was administered to examine the reliability of the revised measure which is the current scale (Phinney, 1992). The second goal of the

study was to establish the correlates of the construct as measured (p. 163).

Data from the 14-item overall scale were computed separately. Reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) were calculated on the 14-item measure for the high school sample and reliability was .81 for the younger sample and .90 for the college sample. The latter results mirrored the reliability coefficients reported by Birnbaum (1992) in a study that replicated the reported high reliability of the college sample. Phinney's smaller sample in California (n = 136) held almost the same high reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .92) in Birnbaum's replication with a larger sample (n = 312) college students from two Northeastern colleges.

Reliability coefficients were calculated for two of the three subscales. Ethnic behaviors were not included because it is comprised of only two items. The Affirmation and Belonging subscale revealed reliability coefficients of .75 for the high school sample and .86 for the college sample. For the Ethnic Identity Achievement subscale, reliabilities were .68 and .80, respectively, for the two groups. (p. 165)

The conceptual issue that concerned the question as to whether the components of ethnic identity are distinct and separate or a single factor with three interrelated components was examined through factor analysis. Phinney (1992) and together with correlations among the three

components, provide modest empirical support. Birnbaum's (1992) replication provided further empirical support for the conceptualization of ethnic identity as a unified construct consisting of three interrelated components.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed through the computerized SAS 6.06 statistical package. The following null hypotheses were investigated through the data analysis procedures identified.

Hypothesis 1. There will be no significant differences in the pretest and posttest overall ethnic identity development scores as measured by the MEIM, between those subjects in the treatment and control groups. Independent t-tests of gain scores were computed by group to compare means between groups. This hypothesis was analyzed using repeated measures, one between (Groups), one within (Time), Analysis of Variance procedure.

Hypothesis 2. There will be no significant differences in the subjects' scores over time on the MEIM with respect to gender and across groups. A 3 x 2 x 2 (group x time x gender) Two Way ANOVA with repeated measures (Lindquist Type 111) was conducted to test this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3. There will be no significant relationship between subjects' gain scores with regards to the length of time they have lived in the United States. The Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient was

executed to analyze the relationship between MEIM gain scores and the length of time research subjects have lived in the United States.

Hypothesis 4. There will be no difference between subjects' gain scores regardless of the dominant language spoken in the home. A 3 x 3 x 2 (groups x home languages x time) ANOVA with repeated measures (Lindquist Type III) was employed to test this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5. There will no significant differences over time across treatment groups on the three subscale components of the MEIM (Affirmation and Belonging, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Behaviors). Three separate repeated measures ANOVA'S were used to analyze the data. The dependent variables were the three subscales.

In addition to the five research hypotheses, qualitative data from the Background Survey were categorized and reported through frequency and percentage calculations. Examples of thematic open-ended questions were discussed in an effort to provide additional understanding of the Haitian adolescents' experiences as an American immigrant.

CHAPTER IV

Results

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of a preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention on the ethnic identity development of Haitian adolescents as measured by the gain scores over time on the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). The principal research questions guiding the study explored the relationship between gender and ethnic identity development, the length of time all Haitian subjects had lived in the United States, and the relationship of ethnic identity development with respect to the primary language spoken in the home, type of treatment, sex, length of time the participant had lived in the United States, and primary language spoken in the home, were the independent variables.

The study also included analysis of Phinney's (1992) conceptual notion that ethnic identity is composed of three interrelated components; affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors. These components, individual subscales, were the dependent variables.

This chapter presents the findings with respect to the research hypotheses and reports additional findings of both quantitative and qualitative data. The sample (N = 105) was randomly divided into three groups: a) a placebo group (C1) that received counselor contact without a preventive psycheducational counselor intervention but with

pretesting-posttesting; b) a control group (C2) that received pretesting-posttesting only; and c) an experimental group (E) that received a preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention treatment condition and pretesting-posttesting. Table 5 illustrates the numbers of participants in each of the research conditions. Table 5 also depicts that the sample was almost equally divided between groups that received counselor contact in either a placebo or experimental condition, and those subjects who were pretested and posttested only without counselor contact within a group.

Table 5

Composition of Groups

Classification	Frequency	Percentage
C1 (Placebo)	20	19.0
C2 (Control)	53	50.5
E (Experimental)	32	30.5
Total N	105	100.0

The measure of ethnic identity development, the MEIM, was scored on a 1 to 4 scale. Although Phinney (1992) points out that these scores are on a continuum, they can be conceptualized within these general parameters: a) a score from 1 to 2 implies the subject is functioning at the lowest level of ethnic identity development (stage one, diffusion or foreclosure); b) a score of 2 to 3 is indicative of a

move to an active search leading to exploration and commitment (stage two, moratorium); and c) high scores in the 3 to 4 range on the continuum reflect identity achievement and adaptation of a healthy biculturality (stage three, achievement).

The overall means of the MEIM scores for the entire research sample are depicted in Table 6. Plots of MEIM scores by group are illustrated in Appendix E.

Table 6

Means, SD for Each of Groups Pre, Post, and Gains MEIM Score Means (SD) by Group and Overall

	Group C1 (SD) n	Group C2 (SD) n	Group E (SD) n	Total N
MEIM PRE	3.08 (.63) 20	2.98 (.51) 53	2.92 (.54) 32	2.98 (.54) 105
MEIM POST	3.07 (.64) 20	3.04 (.49) 52	3.12 (.50) 32	3.07 (.52) 104
MEIM GAIN	.009 (.78) 20	.06 (.57) 52	.20 (.61) 32	.09 (.63) 104

Table 6 reveals that the mean scores for this group of Haitian adolescents generally fall into the high end of the moratorium stage which signifies that these individuals are actively immersed in the exploration of their ethnic identity and beginning to make decisions about how they see themselves in terms of their ethnic group membership.

Their increasing cognition and awareness of themselves as minority members also increases their awareness of how they are perceived by dominant and other minority cultures.

Hypothesis Testing

The analysis of the data was performed by testing the research hypotheses through the use of the t-tests for both within subject and between group comparisons, analysis of variance procedures, and the Pearson product - moment correlation. In all of the hypothesis testing, an alpha of .05 was utilized. Each hypothesis was tested and the findings are reported in the following formats: (a) a restatement of the hypothesis in the null form; (b) a presentation or tabulation of the findings; and (c) a brief interpretation of the test results.

Null Hypothesis #1. There will be no significant differences in the pretest and posttest ethnic identity development gain scores as measured by the MEIM, between those students in the treatment, placebo, and control groups.

Gain scores were computed by subtracting the pretest scores from the posttest scores of the MEIM. As shown in Table 7, the experimental group (E) experienced the largest gain, followed by the control group without counselor contact (C2). None of the gains in the three groups was significant at the .05 level.

Hypothesis 1 was analyzed using a repeated-measures, one between (Group), one within (Time), Analysis of Variance. The results of this analysis indicated no Group x Time interaction and no effect for either Group or Time (see Table 7).

Table 7

Results of Repeated Measures ANOVA for Gains in MEIM Among Groups (Hypothesis 1)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Group	.11	2	.057	.15	.86
Error	37.66	101	.37		
Time	.29	1	.29	1.5	.22
Time x Group	.31	2	.15	.78	.46
Error	19.9	101	.20		

As shown in Table 7, no significant difference was found on the gain scores for the MEIM ($F[2,101] = .78$, $p = .460$). The null hypothesis was not rejected.

Ethnic identity achievement contributes to psychological resilience within minority children. Yet, the variables of oppressive conditions have not been studied within a developmental context, especially in terms of their impact on ethnic identity development and may have contributed to the results in this study.

Ethnic identity development is a salient issue for these students as evidenced by their MEIM scores (see Table 6) which placed most participants in Phinney's (1992)

Moratorium stage of ethnic identity development. Moratorium is characterized by emotional intensity and a search for ethnic identity. Resolution of this developmental task occurs in the next stage when the adolescent progresses to an achieved stage. The lack of significant differences found within and between groups on the MEIM indicates that the preventive, psychoeducational, counselor intervention applied to the experimental group did not enhance ethnic identity development in this sample of Haitian adolescents. The gains that were made on the MEIM (.20) could have been attained through chance alone and cannot be attributed to the effect of the intervention, Self in Context.

Null Hypothesis #2. There will be no significant differences over time on the MEIM, with respect to gender and across groups. A 3 x 2 x 2 (C1, C2, E groups: by M, F: by pretest and posttest) repeated measures ANOVA procedure was conducted.

The only significant difference that was found was for gender (see Table 8). This finding indicates that the average of the MEIM scores for the males (2.84) was significantly less than the average MEIM score for the females (3.29). Differences between gender were found to be highly significant ($F = 26.43$ $df = 2,98$, $p = .0001$). Appendix F illustrates in more detail the MEIM scores by gender. Table 8 depicts the findings that supported

rejection of the null hypothesis that there were no differences by sex.

Table 8

ANOVA of MEIM Scores by Group and Sex With Repeated Measures

Source	df	SS	MS	F	P
Between Subjects					
Group (A)	2	.191	.095	.32	.72
Sex (B)	1	7.82	7.82	26.43	.0001*
A X B	2	.197	.098	.33	.71
Error	98	29.00	.295		
Within Subjects					
Time (C)	1	.295	.295	1.50	.22
Time by Group (C X A)	2	.311	.155	.79	.45
Time by Sex (C X B)	1	2.16	.216	1.10	.29
Time by Group by Sex (C X A X B)	2	.464	.232	1.18	.31
Error	98	19.36	.197		

*p < .05.

In summary, the null hypotheses that there was no difference for between subjects effects with respect to gender was rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis that found statistically significant gender based differences. In order to more fully understand the implications of this finding, independent t-tests were

applied to the selected variables of all pretest, posttest, and gain scores.

It can be seen from Table 9 that the scores for the males are consistently lower than females across overall MEIM and subscale scores. These data and the findings illustrated in Table 9, are in direct contrast with a literature review of 70 studies of ethnic identity published in refereed journals since 1972, in which Phinney (1990) found that fragmentary research results provided inconclusive evidence about sex differences in ethnic identity. At the .05 significance level, there were significant sex differences.

These findings suggest that the Haitian boys in the study are dealing with the meaning of their ethnicity and are involved in the exploration of what it means to be Haitian. A sense of ethnic pride and affirmation is more pronounced in the females who participate in more Haitian customs and traditions within the Haitian community than do the male participants. Several of the females gave voice to their anger about their perceptions that Haitian males have more freedom, more power within the family, and are generally expected to perform better academically than females. Yet, females are clearly affiliated with positive attitudes about being Haitian despite the difficulty they have reconciling the traditional Haitian role of women with

the host culture's more liberal and less restrictive role structure.

Table 9 shows that all scores increased between test administrations in all areas for both genders with the exception of the ethnic identity achievement subscale in which the means for the boys decreased, although not significantly, and not differentially. This finding suggests that the pathway for ethnic identity development in some Haitian adolescent males may be as perilous as it is for African-American adolescent males and other children of color. The peer group influences one's journey of personal identity definition and is an extremely important variable that is not well understood in terms of ethnic identity development.

Some male students reported that they felt that they had to be constantly on the defensive so that they would not be vulnerable to physical threats and verbal assaults that attacked their dignity. One student stated that he had joined a gang so that his safety would be assured. Other students reported their fear about the future and their uncertain immigrant status and concern for those family members they left behind in Haiti. Several boys stated that they wanted to work and help their families, but were legally restricted. The ethnic identity achievement subscale finding for the males is indicative of the complexity of their search for their ethnic identity within

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations on the MEIM for Male and Female Participants and t-Tests for Sex Differences

Scale	Male	Female	t	df	p
MEIMpre					
M	2.80	3.15	-3.50	103.	.0007*
SD	.55	.46			
MEIMpost					
M	2.84	3.29	-4.83	102.	.0000*
SD	.51	.41			
Affpre					
M	3.01	3.46	-3.04	103.	.0029*
SD	.85	.66			
Affpost					
M	3.12	3.59	-3.65	102.	.0004*
SD	.75	.54			
IDpre					
M	2.71	2.96	-2.68	103.	.0084*
SD	.49	.46			
IDpost					
M	2.69	3.13	-4.67	102.	.0000*
SD	.47	.47			
Behpre					
M	2.55	3.00	-2.87	103.	.0049*
SD	.84	.76			
Behpost					
M	2.67	3.07	-3.11	100.	.0024*
SD	.70	.61			

Legend: MEIM = overall scores MEIM
Aff= Affirmation and Belonging Subscale
ID= Ethnic Identity Achievement Subscale
Beh= Ethnic Behavior Subscale
*p= < .05

the context of competing peer group demands and social values and mores of host cultures.

Null Hypothesis #3. There will be no significant relationship among subjects scores' on the MEIM with regards to the length of time they have lived in the United States. The Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient was used to analyze the relationship between MEIM gain scores and the length of time participants have lived in the United States. No significant correlations were found in the C1 group ($r = .-24$, $p = .29$, $n = 20$); the C2 group ($r = .131$, $p = .36$, $n = 50$); and the E group ($r = .03$, $p = .87$, $n = 32$).

These findings suggest that ethnic identity development is a function of adolescence. The length of time the subjects had resided in the United States was extremely varied. Participants had arrived in the United States as recently as six months prior to initiation of the study, and some had lived in the United States their entire life. Ethnic identity development is a process experienced by adolescence regardless of the time they have lived in the host country.

Hypothesis #4. There will be no difference between subjects' scores on the MEIM regardless of the dominant language spoken in the home or treatment condition. The fourth hypothesis concerned the differences in gain on the MEIM with respect to the primary three languages that were

spoken within the respondents' homes or to an interaction between home language and treatment condition. This variable was identified as the dominant language. A large majority of respondents (72.5%) came from homes where the primary language spoken in the home was Creole (see Table 10).

A 3 x 3 x 2 (Groups: C1, C2, and E; Home Languages: English, French, and Creole; Pre, Post) repeated measures ANOVA, did not reveal statistically significant differences. Results did not differ when French was excluded (3 x 2 x 2). This finding suggests that the primary language spoken in

Table 10

Distribution of Dominant Language Spoken in the Home

Home Language	Frequency	Percent
English	27	26.5
Creole	74	72.5
French	1	1.0

n = 102

the home of adolescents has no effect on an adolescent's individual developmental stage of ethnic identity development.

Hypothesis #5. There will be no significant differences over time across treatment groups on the subscale components of the MEIM (Affirmation and Belonging, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Behaviors). Three separate repeated measures ANOVA's were used to analyze the data. The dependent variables were the three subscales. There were no significant effects among time, group, or interaction on any of the three subscale components.

Additional Findings

Pearson Correlation Coefficients were used to analyze the relationship of the pre, post, and gain scores among the subscale components and the MEIM. Several significant bivariate correlations were found to exist as presented in the following correlation matrix.

The strongly related correlation's among the three subscales and the MEIM provided additional support for Phinney's (1992) conceptual construct that suggested ethnic identity is comprised of three interrelated components. The positively related correlation's were indicative of the strong relationship between the three subscales. The Pearson correlation matrix showed significant bivariate correlations between gain, pre, and post scores on all subscales with MEIM pre, post, and gain scores. In effect, these findings suggest a unified construct of ethnic identity.

As shown in Table 11, Meim gain is significantly (** p = < .001) correlated with Aff gain (r = .88). This high positive correlation accounts for a full 77% of the variance. This strong relationship is followed closely by the significant relationship of ID gain (r = .87) which accounts for 76% of the variance. The last subscale is shown on the matrix to have a moderate correlation but in a positive direction again (r = .56) which accounts for 31% of the variance. These findings closely mirror those correlations found by Phinney (1992) in which correlations among the three components of ethnic identity were statistically significant in both college and high school samples. The correlations in the present study provide further support for Phinney's conceptual notion that ethnic identity in adolescents is composed of three interrelated components within a unified construct.

Qualitative Data

Qualitative open-ended questions revealed rich description from the perspectives of the respondents. The questions were categorized thematically, quantified, and reported through frequency and percentile calculations. For example, when asked to identify the major problems facing contemporary Haitian high school students, themes were categorized into the seven major areas. The primary problems were identified as prejudice evidenced towards the students on the basis of race (21.2%) and specific

Table 11

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Matrix Examining the Relationship of Pretest-Posttest and Gain Scores

	AFF GAIN	ID GAIN	BEH GAIN	MEIM PRE	MEIM PST	MEIM GAIN	AFF PRE	AFF PST	ID PRE	ID PST	BEH PRE
AFF GAIN		r = .59 p = .00**	r = .35 p = .00**	r = -.58 p = .00**	r = .45 p = .00**	r = .88 p = .00**	r = -.69 p = .00**	r = .56 p = .00**	r = -.33 p = .00**	r = .33 p = .00**	r = -.28 p = .003*
ID GAIN			r = .42 p = .00**	r = -.48 p = .00**	r = .54 p = .00**	r = .87 p = .00**	r = -.39 p = .00**	r = .35 p = .00**	r = -.53 p = .00**	r = .60 p = .00**	r = -.15 p = .110
BEH GAIN				r = -.35 P = .00**	r = .31 p = .00**	r = .56 p = .00**	r = .22 p = .01*	r = .22 p = .01*	r = -.25 p = .00*	r = .23 p = .01*	r = -.67 p = .0001*
MEIM PRE					r = .30 p = .00*	r = -.61 p = .00*	r = .90 p = .00*	r = .23 p = .01*	r = .86 p = .00*	r = .27 p = .00*	r = .58 p = .00**
MEIM PST						r = .56 p = .00**	r = .21 p = .02*	r = .87 p = .00**	r = .37 p = .00**	r = .91 p = .00**	r = .19 p = .04*
MEIM GAIN							r = -.60 p = .00**	r = .51 p = .00**	r = -.48 p = .00**	r = .51 p = .00**	r = -.34 p = .00**
AFF PRE								r = .19 p = .04*	r = .63 p = .00**	r = .15 p = .11	r = .40 p = .00**
AFF PST									r = .26 p = .00**	r = .64 p = .00**	r = .07 p = .00**
ID PRE										r = .34 p = .00**	r = .36 p = .00**
ID PST											r = .17 p = .07
BEH PRE											------ ------
BEH PST											r = .37 p = .00**

NOTE: *p = < .05
**p = < .001

LEGEND:

AFF GAIN = Affirmation and Belonging sub scale gain
ID GAIN = Ethnic Identity Achievement sub scale gain
BEH GAIN = Ethnic Behavior sub scale gain
MEIM PRE = MEIM pretest scores
MEIM PST = MEIM posttest scores
MEIM GAIN = MEIM gain scores
AFF PRE = Affirmation and Belonging sub scale pretest scores
AFF PST = Affirmation and Belonging sub scale posttest scores
ID PRE = Ethnic Identity Achievement sub scale pretest scores
ID PST = Ethnic Identity Achievement sub scale posttest scores
BEH PRE= Ethnic Behavior pretest sub scale scores
BEH PST= Ethnic Behavior posttest sub scale scores

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discrimination towards Haitians by Afro-American students (14.4%). The barrier of language was identified as the second problem in priority followed by immigration policy and then immigration status. Several students (n = 14) identified attitudes toward their own ethnic group as problematic for Haitian adolescents. Poor self-esteem and shame related to self-identification as Haitian were referred to as specific areas of concern, as well as those participants whose sentiments were expressed by the statement who "forget where they come from and want to be just like everyone else."

The respondents in this study were most satisfied with their school lives, (35.1%), followed by primary satisfaction with their home lives (18.6%). The majority (53.8%) described their relationships with their parents or guardians as good, followed by (27.9%) who felt that their relationships were very good. Open-ended descriptions ranged from, ". . . my parents are very open and I can tell them anything," to "I would describe it as milk and lemon." Fifteen students reported that their relationship with their parents or guardian were poor and 4 respondents described it as being terrible.

Most of the respondents reported grade point averages of B (36.5%) and C (48.1%) and almost all (n = 85) of the respondents were planning to go to college after graduation from high school. Professional career goals chosen in rank

order included medical, business, and law vocations. These career and educational goals generally corresponded with respondents' perception regarding their parents' expectations for them upon completion of high school; 73 students reported that their parents expected them to go to college.

A Pearson correlation analysis was computed to determine the relationship of the background variables (e.g., Haitian students' problems, relationship with parents, parents' work, life goals after high school, etc.). These correlations may, in fact, be important theoretically for future research. The strongest correlation of .27 ($p < .00$) was between respondents' plans after high school and career goals. This correlation coefficient suggests that as the adolescents visualize and define life after high school, they establish career goals as well. A significant but low, negative relationship of -.23 ($p < .01$) was found between career goals and relationship with parents or guardians. This finding may suggest that as familial relationships improve, an adolescent is more likely to establish future life goals as they relate to decisions about education, career, and other areas that called for decision-making. Although there were several significant relationships, at most, only between four and seven percent of the variance could be explained. The strength of these

correlations is low however, and make interpretation of bivariate statistically significant relationships tentative.

In summary, the primary research hypothesis that tested the effect of a preventive, psychoeducational, counseling intervention on ethnic identity development in this sample of Haitian adolescents resulted in no differences between control and experimental groups. There were no differences with respect to length of time in the United States or the dominant language spoken in the home. The component subscales of ethnic identity were significantly correlated. The most highly statistically significant findings in this study concerned the differences by gender found in the development of ethnic identity development as measured by the MEIM in this sample of Haitian adolescents.

CHAPTER V

Summary and Conclusions

This research study assessed the effect of a preventive psychoeducational counseling intervention on the ethnic identity development of a randomly sampled group of urban Haitian high school students (N = 105) as measured by the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992). Subjects ranged in age from 14 to 20 with a mean of 16.6 years and gender was almost equally divided between male (n = 52) and female (n = 53).

An experimental design was employed and respondents were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: (a) a placebo group (C1) that received counselor contact in a group setting without a preventive psychoeducational counselor intervention but with pretesting and posttesting; (b) a control group (C2) that received pretesting and posttesting only, and an experimental condition (E) that received a preventive counselor intervention designed to address ethnic identity development in Haitian adolescents with pretesting and posttesting on the MEIM (Phinney, 1992).

The intervention applied in the (E) condition consisted of 2 hour weekly group sessions entitled Self in Context, which were held over a period of seven weeks. The theoretical framework that guided the development of the 7 session counselor intervention (see Appendix B) was

based on mental health prevention, acculturation, and multicultural counseling theories. The content was divided into three conceptual domains: cultural awareness, interpersonal problem-solving, and conflict resolution.

This study may be the first empirical investigation to consider the psychological needs of Haitian adolescents within a culturally based and developmental framework (J. S. Phinney, personal communication, June 19, 1994). An understanding of ethnic identity development and research analysis of the counselor interventions that enhance this process has not been considered previously. Therefore, there is little or no knowledge available for counselors, educators, and psychologists regarding the process by which Haitian adolescents progress through ethnic identity development. Moreover, little information exists with respect to counselor interventions that address ethnic identity issues vital for effective transition through adolescent psychological and social development.

The study was conducted during a period of Haitian sociopolitical angst and within an environment of increasing immigrant backlash sentiments. An understanding of ethnic identity, or one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group, (including one's perceptions, feelings, and behavior) and the way this construct interacts with personal identity formation is virtually uncharted empirical territory with respect to Haitian and Haitian American adolescents.

This chapter reviews and develops the major findings of the study. Answers to the following primary research questions that guided the study are explored:

1. Can a preventive psychoeducational counseling intervention affect the ethnic identity development of Haitian adolescents?

2. What are the differences in effect with respect to gender, years in host country, and dominant language spoken within the home?

3. To what extent do the MEIM subgroups (affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors) contribute to ethnic identity development?

This chapter reviews and develops the major findings of the study. Quantitative results that were hypothesized are followed by additional qualitative findings and conclusions. Implications for counselor education and practice precede recommendations for further research. The chapter concludes with a summary of the aforementioned topics.

Quantitative Findings

The conceptual assumption undergirding the study investigated whether a short-term structured group format specifically developed to address that aspect of identity formation referred to as ethnic identity, would affect ethnic identity development gain scores as measured by the MEIM, (Phinney, 1992). The results indicated that although the experimental group attained gain scores in a positive

direction that were higher than placebo and control groups, scores did not approach statistical significance ($F[2,101] = .78$, $p = .460$).

The independent variables were gender, the length of time the participant had resided in the United States, and the primary language spoken in the home. The dependent variable was the scoring on the MEIM. Scores on the MEIM did not differ significantly or differentially between or within groups with respect to the length of time a Haitian adolescent had lived in the United States or whether the primary language spoken in the home was English, Creole, or French. The primary language spoken in the home for a majority of the participants (72.5%) was Creole, followed by 26.5% who came from homes where English was the primary language.

Cummins (1984) described the effect of cultural mismatch in which the language spoken at home differs from the primary language spoken at school; the cultural frames of reference spoken in English by the limited English proficient student may have totally divergent meaning. Although the cultural mismatch phenomenon may be a source of stress for these Haitian adolescents, ethnic identity development takes place regardless of the language spoken in the home. The primary language spoken within the home is not related to an adolescents' stage of ethnic identity

development according to the findings in this study of Haitian adolescents.

Walsh (1987) concurred that the cultural mismatch phenomenon together with other social factors explained some immigrant children's "poor self-concept and academic failure in school (p. 199)." The fact that this study showed no significant differences on ethnic identity development levels as measured by the MEIM suggests that ethnic identity development is an important developmental task for all adolescents.

This conclusion applies to the finding that there was no relationship between ethnic identity development and the length of time the participants had resided in the United States. Previous research (e.g., Esquivel & Keitel, 1990; Padilla, 1993) indicated that immigrants experience a heightened degree of acculturative stress if they were uprooted in early adolescence in contrast to those who immigrate before the age of 12. Because of this earlier research, one might have surmised that subjects who had left Haiti as an adolescent would be at either end of the continuum. Rather, the results of this study indicate that stage 2 is the most salient descriptor of the male adolescents who are currently engaged in an active search for the meaning and value of ethnicity in their lives. The female adolescents' scores indicate that they have conducted a conscious search and have made decisions about their

ethnicity, placing them in stage 3. This exploration, search, and commitment appears to transcend the possible moderating effects of the two variables: primary language spoken in the home and age at which uprooting from Haiti occurred.

There was a significant difference found for sex. The mean of the pretest-posttest MEIM score for the boys (2.84) was significantly less than the mean MEIM score for the girls (3.29). All males scored significantly lower than females regardless of treatment condition ($F = 22.61$, $df = 1,98$, $p = .0001$). Phinney (1990) reviewed 70 studies of ethnic identity published in refereed journals since 1972. She discovered little research that addressed the issue of ethnic identity and gender, stating that in the sparse literature on identity formation, "fragmentary results clearly allow no conclusions about sex differences in ethnic identity" (p. 506). The results of this study show that Haitian males are deeply immersed in their search and have not made the commitment vital for the acquisition of an achieved ethnic identity.

The significantly higher scores on the MEIM for the females suggest that Haitian adolescent females are progressing towards ethnic identity achievement and healthy resolution of the meaning of ethnicity in their lives. Contradictory to previous research, the results of the current study suggest that there may be differences in the

process by which adolescent males and females progress through their respective ethnic identity development.

In addition to the MEIM, the study also included analysis of Phinney's (1992) conceptual notion that ethnic identity is composed of three interrelated components: affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors. There were no significant effects among time, group, or interaction on any of the three subscale components as identified above.

Additional Findings and Conclusions

Additional findings included analysis of problems identified by participants, family relationships, career and educational goals, and teacher and experimenter observations. These additional findings are based on both qualitative and quantitative results and are reviewed within theoretical contexts.

Developmentalists have long recognized that adolescence is a period of readiness (Erikson, 1963b; Havighurst, 1951; Marcia, 1966; Waterman, 1982) for adolescents to progressively strengthen their patterns of identity formation. Yet, ethnic identity has been largely ignored by adolescent researchers (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). When 24 of the nation's largest school systems are "majority minority" (Ponterotto & Casas, 1991, p. 28), and incidences of ethnic wounding are erupting worldwide (e.g., the Hutus and the Tutsis, Bosnians and Serbs), the understanding of

how the individual acquires an achieved ethnic identity is more compelling than ever.

Individual acquisition of ethnic identity development is intertwined with the individual's perception of group belonging. Self-identification as a member of a group is a prerequisite to establishing a sense of group belonging. The participants in the present study identified themselves as Haitian or Haitian Americans. Several individuals, however, (n = 14) identified shame and negative attitudes about this identification with their own cultural group as the primary problem facing Haitian adolescents today. This perception was articulated further by members of the experimental group who described incidents which occurred both in school and in the community when they felt ashamed of being Haitian. For example, one subject stated that " I was ashamed of my mother in the bank when she was speaking to me in Creole. What was worse though, I felt ashamed of being ashamed." The fact that self-identification inspired shame for some of the Haitian adolescents, suggests that these adolescents are coerced into a psychological form of ethnic group homelessness.

Markowitz (1994) acknowledged the sense of "we" as a powerful dynamic that "defines our communities for us, the places where we will feel most at home, and find kindred spirits who implicitly understand our ways" (p. 22). Markowitz also noted that the "we's":

> that shape us - are always influencing our experience, determining whether we are relaxed and can speak in the shorthand of one who shares the same basic world view and experience, or whether we have to translate ourselves to someone who wouldn't understand the way we interpret the world. (p. 24)

In response to the question regarding the most significant problem facing Haitian adolescents today, one participant in the study noted that "Haitian newcomers are treated like animals." Contemporary society does not value all groups equally, and consequently newcomers to the United States may deny their cultural legacy in an effort to fit in to the dominant cultures. Markowitz (1994) viewed this process as an actual sacrifice of important aspects of self that is paid for with internalized shame or diminished self-esteem. It is a process that is currently experienced by many Haitian children. A participant stated, "My sister told me not to tell anyone at school that I was Haitian or they would say I eat cats and beat me up, and that I was to tell people that I was Jamaican."

Thirty-five percent of the sample identified prejudice and discrimination towards Haitians by dominant and other minority cultures as the primary problem facing Haitian adolescents; 14% of these respondents specifically identified rejection by African-American peers as the most significant problem for Haitian adolescents. This

discrimination has made ethnic self-identification an impossibility for successful peer group acculturation in some school and community settings. Ethnic self-identification is a virtual imperative to the developmental task of ethnic identity development. Although participants in this study self-identified as Haitian, experimental group discussion revealed evidence of situations in which Haitians are compelled to deny their cultural legacy in order to survive in the broader social context.

Self in Context Counselor Intervention

Phinney, Lochner, and Murphy (1990) determined that a commitment to an ethnic identity is central to the self-concept of minority youth. The psychological business of exploring the meaning of one's ethnic minority membership is complicated by devalued societal status and the existence of different sets of norms and values in Haitian and American cultures. Exploration is vital in adolescence and is a process that precedes conscious commitment to beliefs about one's ethnic self. In this study, the short-term counseling intervention, Self in Context, did not significantly affect the Haitian adolescents' stage of ethnic identity development. This finding suggests that a 7 week short-term preventive psychoeducational intervention is not enough to move adolescents to an advanced stage of ethnic identity development. Counselor interventions may

need to be embedded in lifelong counseling strategies that enhance the development of a strong and stable identity.

As noted in Chapter IV, most of the male subjects were in stage 2 (Search and Moratorium) of Phinney's (1990) model of ethnic identity development. Phinney (1989) suggested that this stage is initiated by a subtle yet increasing awareness that the values of the dominant culture may not be helpful to the minority individual and the process of search and commitment between the dominant culture and the culture of origin may involve coming to terms with the cultural differences. For Haitian adolescents in the experimental condition, learning about Haiti as their sociohistorical culture of origin was important in terms of integrating a personal perspective about the collective "we".

The short-term intervention produced the following positive results as reported by the experimenters. The Haitian adolescents in the research sample revealed their critical need for exploration, search and commitment through Self in Context activities that centered on Haitian history, geography, folklore, interpersonal problem-solving and conflict resolution. Comments included, "For the first time in my life, I can say that I am proud of my country and proud to be Haitian." The Haitian experimenters noted that the participants were extremely interested in information about the history, geography, and customs of Haiti. Additionally, a context for ethnic pride and personal growth

that had been initiated in the experimental group was reflected in the classroom. Two teachers observed that some of the Haitian students had begun to be more verbal and participatory and had requested that Haitian history be included in curriculum.

Life after high school was a significant concern for many of the participants in this research study. Eighty-five percent of the total sample (N = 105) indicated that they were planning to attend college, however, 20% stated that illegal immigrant status would prevent them from fulfilling their educational and career goals. Haitian advocates (e.g., Wenski, Jerome, & Vieux-Brierre, cited in "How to Solve," 1994) contend that there are many children graduating from high schools who are in this position, thus creating a new economic underclass. Haitian adolescents in this sample identified a central concern that is impeding the acculturation process: the fact that Haitians are denied legal entry.

Most of the subjects (82%) reported satisfactory relationships with their parents. In the experimental group, psychodrama and role play enactments of issues of concern identified by the individuals revealed family conflict centered on the adolescent's abandonment of the culture of origin and the parents clinging and complete adherence to the Haitian culture. Communication skills and conflict resolution strategies helped to mediate this

exacerbation of normative intergenerational patterns. With respect to parenting characteristics, the strict, authoritarian style that is common in many Haitian families was contextualized as a parenting style, as opposed to a deviant method that is inferior to the more lenient parenting style adopted by many members of the dominant culture. The group milieu was an important arena for breaking down the barriers to intergenerational conflict. In effect, the Haitian experimenters reframed the authoritarian style and participants learned coping strategies through the Self in Context intervention.

Discussion

This research provides important information relative to the field of ethnic identity development of urban Haitian adolescents and the impact of a psychoeducational counselor intervention on ethnic identity development as measured by the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). The results of this study indicate that urban Haitian adolescents, whether a recent newcomer or long-term immigrant, are struggling with ethnic identity development as defined by Phinney (1992). Application of a preventive psychoeducational counselor intervention did not significantly or differentially affect the ethnic identity development of the respondents.

The scores on the MEIM placed the participants in the study in the higher range for males (2.84) of Phinney's (1992) stage 3, and the lower range for females (3.29) of

Phinney's (1992) stage 2, which is the ethnic identity achievement stage. In stage 2, Haitian adolescents are involved in an active search (moratorium) precipitated by an experience, cognition or feeling that produces increased awareness about self in relation to ethnicity. Stage 2 is often accompanied by emotional intensity and questions about ethnic group history, customs, and traditions (Ponterotto & Casas, 1993).

This finding supports conceptual theorists who have developed minority models (e.g., Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1983; Cross, 1991; Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990) and believe that ethnic identity development is in fact, a developmental process leading to a bicultural or achieved ethnic identity that occurs regardless of the length of time the Haitian adolescent has lived in the United States or the primary language spoken in the home. Ethnic identity development appears to be a salient function of adolescent identity formation.

A possible explanation for the lack of significant differences on the MEIM across groups, is a conceptual issue. Stephen, Fraser, and Marcia (1993) contend that although the identity statuses provide a structural vehicle for analysis of Erikson's (1968) view of identity formation, they may not be hierarchically ordered and achieved over time. They may follow a vacillating, fluctuating and even regressive pattern that is not cumulative. New insights and

experiences could propel an individual from a moratorium to a diffused or an achieved identity. These notions seem to apply to the underlying dynamic process that occurs throughout the lifespan and is a salient factor in ethnic identity development. These authors did support the idea that identity achievement was a structural advance, but they questioned the construct of identity fixedness "Identity is not fixed nor is it closed. The identity statuses are open, mutable, and open to reworking" (p. 285). The conceptual regard for a process that may be constant throughout the lifespan would explain the lack of hierarchal movement across groups in this study and would require a paradigm shift to a life span and more process oriented perspective regarding ethnic identity development.

The differences with respect to gender raise new questions about the process by which male and female adolescents resolve ethnic identity issues. Males appear to be lagging in their progression to an achieved level and may be in need of additional counselor interventions that would help them with the strength and confidence to navigate across cultures.

A question that remains unanswered is whether counselors can provide interventions that enhance ethnic identity development. The literature reviewed did not reveal empirically-based methodology designed to enhance ethnicity identity development. A short-term

psychoeducational intervention in isolation is inadequate. The results of this study suggest that development is a lifelong enterprise which may require lifelong interventions. It appears that ethnic identity development is clearly a function of adolescence, but it neither begins or ends with adolescence.

This study illustrates the fact that ethnic identity is a part of human development and it is a moral imperative for school and community counselors to support the development of all children. It is especially important for Haitian and other minority adolescents who are confronted with stereotyping, racism, and discrimination based on ethnic group membership.

A question raised in the study concerns the involvement of the family in counseling interventions. The Haitian adolescents in this urban sample, are culture brokers and interpreters for their families, the majority of whom speak Creole as the primary language. Although the majority maintained positive relationships with their parents, qualitative results and experimental group content identified the intergenerational conflict that occurs when Haitian parents cling completely to the Haitian culture, and totally reject any aspect of the new culture, while their children disown and abandon any aspect of the Haitian culture. These extremes create conflict that could be

prevented through inclusion of the family in early intervention strategies.

Implications for Practice

Sue (1981) suggested that the most essential task of the counselor is to understand the way in which the client views the world. Haitian adolescents invited the researcher and experimenters to know a slice of life as experienced by the adolescent. It is essential that counselors attain cultural competency; learn the language that opens the doors to trust, relationship and growth. Individual interviews with the participants (N = 105) affirmed the need for counselors to educate themselves and become as knowledgeable about the culture, language, religions, customs, and sociohistorical world views of their clients.

The study of ethnic identity development is in its infancy. It is central to identity formation for those adolescents who live in a world with other than a homogenous culture. It is central to the understanding of contemporary adolescent development and is vital to the psychological survival of minorities. The latter perspective resonated in the current study of Haitian adolescents.

Phinney and Rotherham (1987) referred to the counselor's need to become knowledgeable about the child's sociocultural legacy and be sensitive to the impact of sociopolitical realities on the development of the child. Self-destructive or asocial behaviors can be anticipated

when "an adolescent if faced with continuing diffusion, would rather be nobody or somebody bad, or indeed, dead. . . than be not quite somebody" (Erikson, 1959, p. 132).

The interaction of the social identity and the personal identity formation can be addressed in group formats that provide affective support, nurture interpersonal skill building, and embrace the commonality of all human development. The preventive psychoeducational intervention model applied in this study can serve as a basis for the development of culturally competent supportive services for newcomers and minorities.

Self in Context can be utilized as a structure and format for group exploration of ethnic identity issues, sociohistorical cultural awareness, interpersonal problem-solving, and conflict resolution. This preventive psychoeducational counselor intervention can be adapted to meet the needs of other adolescent groups.

The rejection by their non Haitian peers suggests a need for intercultural group intervention. School counselors need to provide structured group interventions that focus on knowledge and awareness about differences and appreciation for diversity. After a vehicle for intercultural communication has been established, students should be encouraged to explore areas in which diverse cultural beliefs can provide a bridge to basic human values. For example, a multicultural leadership council might be

formed to caucus and decide upon areas in which cultural groups can agree. These values can be communicated through student involvement in school policy, activities, and planning ventures.

Counselors can educate teachers and students regarding the process by which an adolescent acquires an ethnic identity. The Phinney (1992) model can be helpful in dispelling fears about ethnic groups meeting together or cultural groups organizing clubs. Acculturation processes can be understood through classroom presentations of didactic information and simulation experiences that help dominant culture students understand the experiences of newcomers.

Schools must embrace every opportunity to increase dialogue between cultures. Cross-cultural communication can occur through "cross town" student exchanges. Additionally, vocational mentoring and role modeling through business and school affiliation relationships can help newcomers visualize themselves in vocations they had not been aware of or did not have information about.

Group interventions for Haitian males are imperative to the ethnic development of the Haitian male. Counselors can provide supportive counseling to assist them in the decision-making process intrinsic to ethnic identity achievement.

Implications for Research

The results of the study suggest the need for further research in several areas. For example, ethnic identity development for those Haitian adolescents living in the Northeastern part of the United States may vary from the scores of the individuals in this sample that focused on a Southeastern locale. Such a research objective would focus on the effect of a preventive psychoeducational intervention on Haitian or other immigrant samples residing in other locales.

The length of the treatment is a variable that needs further research attention. A longitudinal study might have produced different results. Ethnic identity development as an aspect of identity formation is a new conceptual frontier. Comparisons at different time sequences during the course of a longitudinal application of Self in Context is an important next step in developing culturally competent counselor interventions. Application of the individual dimensions (cultural awareness, interpersonal problem solving, conflict resolution) in combination or alone is another starting place from which to begin to develop research based counseling interventions for minority adolescents.

The differences with respect to gender found in the present study raise questions about the possible variables that impact the way adolescent males and adolescent females

contend with ethnic identity issues. These exploratory findings require further research.

Primary language spoken within the home was a variable in this study that did not contribute to ethnic identity development gain scores on the MEIM. The primary language spoken by the Haitian adolescent participant is a variable that was not considered in this study and warrants empirical focus. This study did not assess the language proficiency of the participants and it was extremely varied as some participants had arrived in the United States as recently as 6 months prior to implementation of the study.

Discrimination and racism was considered the foremost problem confronted by Haitian adolescents today by 35% of the sample. Is there a level of discrimination that actually prevents that aspect of identity formation defined as ethnic identity development? There is a clarion call for research in these areas and an urgent call based on the concerns identified by the Haitian adolescents in the present study.

Additional research is also warranted on the conceptual issue regarding the process by which one acquires an ethnic identity. This study supports Phinney's (1992) conceptual notion about the ingredients or composition of ethnic identity, but the process variables that underlie all development call for empirical identification.

Summary

The psychological domain of ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1992) may be as essential to the development of identity formation in adolescence as the more traditionally researched areas. Phinney, Lochner, and Murphy (1990) asserted that to be able to commit to a secure identity that provides meaning and direction, minority adolescents have to deal with: (a) an exploration and resolution of their status as minority group members, and (b) the existence of different sets of norms and values: those that apply to the culture of origin and those that apply to the majority. The present study supports the centrality of these issues for Haitian adolescents. Counselors are in need of empirically based tools with which to psychologically inoculate these newcomers so that normal developmental processes can occur.

Application of a preventive psychoeducational counselor intervention did not have an impact on ethnic identity development in this study. During the course of individual interviews (N = 105), the participants in the study revealed their need for counselors who are culturally competent and understand the psychosocial effects of sociopolitical realities on Haitian adolescents. Counselor preparedness must be followed by interventions that help provide the compass that navigates the internal momentum so that Haitian adolescents can transcend the barriers of race, class,

gender, and other differences. This exploratory study can provide a place from which to go.

The lower scores on the MEIM for the males across groups, along with expressed concerns about personal safety, inability to work and help the family financially because of immigrant status, and the reports of discrimination by peers, illustrates the need for immediate attention to this group of young adolescents. Research efforts that support innovative techniques designed to address their unique needs is warranted.

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